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VOL. LXX, NO. 8, DECEMBER 1955

Literary Quarrels and Cavils: A Theme of Renaissance Emblem Books

The Renaissance was the golden age not only of the arts, letters, and humanities, but of the literary feud as well. In their labors of bringing back and acting upon ancient wisdom, they forgot to act upon the preachment of Dionysus in the *Frogs* that it is not meet for poets to tongue-lash one another like pastry-cooks. Each country could boast of two or three notorious vendettas of this sort, although the Renaissance took most delight from those between Nash and Harvey, Lope and Góngora, Ronsard and Saint-Gelays, Du Bellay and the emblematiser Aneau, Castelvetro and Annibal Caro, Scaliger and Rabelais. These feuds and their polemics called forth some magnificently bitter epigrams or "iambics" in which no vituperation of one's enemy or rival was out of order and the antagonist could be abused even after he was lying defenseless in his tomb. Recalling the literary feuds of Scaliger against Rabelais, Dolet, Cardan, and Erasmus, Robert Burton expressed his shocked admiration, an Aristotelian *θαννασμός*: "Ovid in his *Ibis*, Archilochus himself, was not so bitter."¹ If there was no such Theban conflict among the emblematisers, leaving aside for the moment the mutual attacks of the author of the *Deffence et Illustration* and the author of the *Quintil Horatian*, there were flare-ups. After all, they were rivals in a relatively encompassed and

¹ Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (London, 1896), III, 24.

specific area and thus competing for the same public recognition. Furthermore, they were to a great extent plagiarists of one another, and despite the Renaissance's tolerance of plagiarism, there have been few writers in any period who could observe with Cyrano's *désinvolture* that people who plagiarise them actually pay them a compliment. There was a violent feud among the clerical emblematisers Giovanni Ferro and Paolo Aresi, Bishop of Tortona. Aresi chose such militant titles for his broadsides in the quarrel as *La penna riaffilata* (the resharpened pen) and *La retroguardia*. Although the feud was sustained by personal motives, it would appear that it centered on such trivial matters as the properties of pomegranates and myrtle trees, attributes which Ferro had criticised in Paolo Aresi's sacred *impresa*.² Claude Le Laboureur and the Jesuit emblematiser Claude-François Menestrier indulged in a feud, the details of which may be read in Mario Praz's *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*.³ Menestrier attacked anonymously the *Discours sur l'Origine des armes et des termes receüs et usitez pour l'explication de la science héraldique* published, also anonymously, by Le Laboureur. The riposte of Menestrier carries a title which does not quite disguise its polemic character, *L'Art du Blason justifié, ou les preuves du véritable art du Blason*. Thus, the feud started over points of heraldic doctrine, only to descend to such questions as whether Menestrier was of a titled Burgundian family, the same low point of contention which was reached in the feud between Cardan and the Scaligers.

A literary quarrel which stayed closer to the issues of literary theory was that which arose between Joachim du Bellay and Barthélemy Aneau. Just two years before he issued his *Picta poesis*, (1552) one of the pioneer French emblem books, Aneau published his *Quintil Horatian* anonymously. In view of his importance as an emblematiser it is interesting to review the points on which Aneau attacked Du Bellay's manifesto, *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549). As a professor of rhetoric Aneau was a traditionalist and historians of the Pléiade movement have been a bit hard on him. He objected to Du Bellay's rejection of the past: authors, genres, values. Aneau's *Imagination poétique* (1552) was dedicated to the general restoration of Greek and Latin authors. He chided Du Bellay for wanting to write only for the learned and neglecting the

² Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery* (London, 1939), I, 164-165.

³ *Ibid.*, I, 165-170.

broad masses. Curiously for an emblemist, he rejects the Italians and their "singeries." As for the *ut pictura poesis* which was ever-present in the minds of the emblemists, Aneau recalled the Horatian phrase to Du Bellay and used it as an argument in favor of the hedonistic purpose he felt was denied poetry by the *Deffence*. "La poésie est comme la peinture. Or la peinture est pour plaire et resjouir, non pour contrister."⁴ This evocation of the Horatian phrase may not have converted his antagonist, but perhaps it helped keep the phrase in mind until it was again evoked in the title of Aneau's "painted poetry" two years later. Even though it was Du Bellay who eventually won the general sympathies in this feud, many of Aneau's points were well taken and deserve to be studied more carefully in view of his identity and stature as a trail-breaker in the iconographical movement.

As teachers of wisdom, the emblem writers naturally sought to dissipate the literary feuds of the time by holding them up to their "mirrors." Alciati, the first emblemist, was the first to take these antagonists to task. In his emblem "Doctos doctis obliqui nefas esse" he pictured a swallow crushing a singing cicada in its beak, allegory of the literary feud. Alciati deemed it unjust that one should perish from another's bite:

Quid rapis heu Progne vocalem saeva Cicadam,
Pignoris usq, tuis sercula dira paras?
Ac stridula stridulam, vernam verna, hospita Laedis
Hospitam et aligeram penniger ales avem?
Ergo abice hâc praedâ, nâ musica pectora summa est,
Alterum ab alterius dente perire nefas.⁵

A second emblem on this theme shows wasps assembled over the tomb of Archilochus.

Archilochi tumulo in sculptas de marmore vespas
Esse ferunt, linguae certa sigilla malae.⁶

The respect in which the Renaissance held the Greek satirist with the sting of a wasp is indicated by the fact that several of Julius Caesar Scaliger's most bitter attacks on Rabelais and Dolet appear in that section of his *Poemata* entitled "Archilochus."

The literary quarrels of ancient Greece were seen by Alciati as the result of the dragon's teeth sown by old Cadmus, son of Agenor. The

⁴ Quoted in H. Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay* (Lille, 1900), p. 150.

⁵ Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1577), p. 576.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

emblematis takes two Cadmean legends and combines them into a single allegory. Cadmus sowed dragon's teeth which became active warriors cutting one another down:

Vel hae armatorum copiae ex iis dentibus ortae, studiosorum quorundam factiones ostendunt, qui livore quodam, & aemulatione graviore moti, sibi mutuam inferunt internecionem, dum scriptis ultro citroue editis, etc.⁷

Cadmus introduced the alphabet and the arts from Phoenicia into Greece, a legend also related in the emblem "Cadmus" of Aneau's *Picta poesis*.⁸ Mixing the legends, Alciati considers Cadmus responsible for the introduction of letters to Greece and for the instigation of literary warfare.

Primus Agenorides elementa, notasque magistria
Tradidit, iis suavem iunxit, & harmoniam.
Quorum discipulos contraria plurima vexant,
Non nisi Palladia qui dirimuntur ope.⁹

The exegesis specifies that the dragon's teeth are the sharp, keen letters of Greece. The armed men are the literati, who cut down one another through envy, unless pacified by Pallas.

A century later the emblem of the swallow and the cicada is still pleasing the public. It reappears among the emblems of Jean Baudoin, who acknowledges its provenience, under the title "Que les querelles entre gens de lettres son malséantes." Baudoin's amplification runs as follows: Generally it is the more ignorant writer who attacks his wiser fellow, sometimes merely to stir up contention deliberately. (This was, by the way, the interpretation Erasmus placed on the first attacks on him by Julius Caesar Scaliger). When authors attack each other it is like two members of the same faith or two pilots of the same ship disputing. Baudoin does not have in mind the feud of the two priests Le Laboureur and Menestrier, since his *Recueil d'emblèmes divers* first appeared in 1638-39. Literary attacks, Baudoin continues, tend to deviate from truth and hurt both the participants and the public. "Ces pointes d'esprit, que l'on appelle bons mots, produisent souvent de fort mauvais effets, & sont plus nuisibles à ceulx qui les disent, qu'à ceulx qui les souffrent pour un temps, & dont le Temps aussi les venge à la fin."¹⁰ No one has

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 602.

⁸ Barthélemy Aneau, *Picta poesis* (Lyon, 1552), p. 11.

⁹ Andrea Alciati, *Emblemata* (Antwerp, 1577), p. 600.

¹⁰ Jean Baudoin, *Recueil d'emblèmes divers* (Paris, 1647), pp. 405-406 (first edition was 1638-39).

ever established a reputation at the expense of another, he adds wishfully. And yet these "picoteries" are starting up more widely, not only among writers but among the savants, to the harm of the republic of letters. Baudoin wonders why it is that people hate especially those in their own profession.

On ne peut appeller autrement que lasche & plein de malice un homme de lettres, qui par raillerie, ou par mesdisance ouverte, s'ataque a l'Esprit ou aux mœurs d'une personne de sa profession, afin de luy faire perdre courage par ce moyen, & de l'interrompre dans le cours de ses Etudes.¹¹

This perplexed reflection that craftsmen hate especially those in their own craft is as old as the twenty-fifth verse of Hesiod's *Works and Days*. It reappeared in France in a well-known poem of Ronsard.¹² It also had appeared as the theme of an article "Figulus figulo invidet, faber fabro" in the *Adages* of Erasmus.

Giovanni Pierio Valeriano paid tribute in his *Hieroglyphica* to the man of letters who remains above disputes, feuds, and jealousies. He agrees that it is the writers of lesser talent who descend to disputes. The men of genius will never fight back, even when they are censured, slandered, or slighted. Among the gifted authors who have remained thus "above the mêlée" are Pontanus and Sadoletus. (Pontanus was vituperated and ostracised for writing praises of Charles VIII of France; Sadoletus was attacked for his efforts to reconcile Catholics and partisans of the Reformation). Other contemporaries who disdained literary quarrels were Antonius Sabellicus, who had encircled himself "with a white line," Pomponius Laetus, and Nicolaus Leonicus.

Satires, epigrams, characters—these literary genres permitted poets to turn their pens not only against their fellow craftsmen but against all members of their society. So also did the picture-books of the *danse macabre* (*macchabée*) and ship-of-fools type, which Horace, Lucilius, Persius, and Juvenal allegedly inspired, if one believes the statement by Locher in the English version of the *Narrenschiff*. They descended to triviality, however, when they were taken up by the ill-mannered court poets who wished merely to entertain or titillate their cronies. "Poesías vanas son de mucho perjuycio. . . . Y si en particular venimos a tratar de los que por preciarse de gran ingenio y cortesanos dan en invenciones de poesías vanas, y de entretener a gentes con sus discreciones, como ellos dizen, es harta

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 408-409.

¹² Pierre de Ronsard, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris, 1914-1919), II, 156.

lastima ver que con su ingenio se quieran enredar y emplearse en lo que tan lleno está de peligros." ¹³ Horozco y Covaruvias adds that these writers, like critics, only harm others in their attempts to display their own talents. They would even sacrifice their friends to exalt their own egos. "Quieren mas perder el amigo que el dicho."

Naturally, these combats between those whom Lintilhac called the "gladiators of the republic of letters" were bound to attract the attention of the contemporary writers of *facetiae*, some of which works fall into an indulgent definition of emblem books. There is the serio-comic counsel given men of letters by Flitner, in his spirited little *Nebulo Nebulonum* (1620). (Lucilius and others had more or less equated "nebulae," "nugae," and "facetiae"). Flitner favors us with an engraving showing a man crowning a large hog. The posie reads "In Grobianos inciviles & agrestes." "Grobianus" is a macaronic coinage from *grob* (=uncouth) and the lesson is that "whosoever is proficient in letters and deficient in manners is more deficient than proficient." The description of the hog twisting in mire and excrement is Bernesque. Its belchings, compared to the worst utterances of literary men, are "obtruded from the throat with so great an eructation and so great a blast that, when the mouth is closed, they slip through the tusks by the impetuosity of their passage." ¹⁴

Another barb at poets who feud in rime is found in the anonymous *Facietiarum Sylva* (after Poggio). Under the posie "De duobus versificibus" one reads again that only the poorest of poets engage in feuding and bickering. The author assumes that a talented poet deigning to enter the lists with them can outwit them and put a quietus on the feud with a single distich:

Versificatores duo, quanque vehementer se in omnes partes torquerent, frigebant tamen mire in carmine, artificio simul & ingenio ex aequo destituti. Caeterum uni cognomentum erat Faber, alteri Sutor, quae utraque cum pulchrecum opere duriusculo planè & frigido convenirent. Velius Poeta laudatissimus, amborum ineptias geminis senariis graphice ad modum delineavit:

Sutor fuit poema, procudit Faber,
Coriaceos hic, ille versus ferreos.¹⁵

In real life Renaissance feuds were not so easily terminated—nor with

¹³ Juan de Horozco y Covaruvias, *Emblemas morales* (Segovia, 1591), p. 179r.

¹⁴ Johann Flitner, *Nebulo Nebulonum, hoc est Jocoseria nequitiae censura* (Frankfurt am Main, 1663), pp. 116-118.

¹⁵ *Facietiarum Sylva* (Argentator, 1542), p. 65.

such bad puns—any more than in antiquity Apelles could really settle discussions concerning beauty by drawing a single line.

The querulous and antagonistic critics became then in the fertile imaginations of the emblematisers identified with predatory swallows, armed warriors, stinging wasps, and belching hogs. The prototype of the enraged critic was Archilochus. Yet there were other degrees of critics. In descending order these were Juvenal the bitter, Aristarchus the severe, and Quintilian the reasonable (pictured by Whitney). The emblematisers liked to think of themselves as in the latter category, as evidenced by Aneau's choosing the pen name of *Le Quintil Horatian*. The bitterness of Juvenal was explained by Hernando de Soto as the product of his envy of the renown of some poets and the wealth of others.¹⁶ One would expect the emblematisers to be more independent and less fearful of literary critics than their fellow writers. After all, they were aiming their books at a vast and heterogeneous audience of educated and uneducated alike, and their obvious success should have enabled them to be independent of "detractors," as they sometimes called critics. It would not have hurt Wither that Pope found him "wretched," nor did it apparently reduce the sales of Quarles's emblems that Pope thought that only the plates themselves "atoned for the page."¹⁷ Miss Freeman tells a delightful story in this connection. "Even in his own day, Sir John Denham is reported by Aubrey as having implored the King to spare Wither's life after his capture by Royalists in the Civil War 'for that whilest G. W. lived, he (Denham) should not be the worst poet in England.'"¹⁸ These censures seemed to bother the emblematisers little more than water bothers a duck. Like Lope, they could afford to displease the formal critics for they were sure of the plaudits of the crowd. For this reason—and also because they were more interested in *typoi* than in individuals—they heaped their coals not on particular critics, as did so many of their contemporaries, but rather on grim-visaged critics in general. These included those who kept alive the universal and ancient suspicion of the licenses and reliability of poetry, those whom Sydney called the *ἄμυντοι*.

Several emblematisers followed the lead of Alciati's emblem "In detractores," turning specifically to literary critics. Kreihing devoted an epigram of his *Emblemata Ethico-Politica* to long-nosed critics

¹⁶ Hernando de Soto, *Emblemas moralizadas* (Madrid, 1599), pp. 75-76^v.

¹⁷ Rosemary Freeman, *English Emblem Books* (London, 1940), pp. 131, 141.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

and censors. The unwholesome crowd of these keeps increasing. "If the assemblage of noses should thus continue to grow, soon what will be the whole world but a nose?" However, being an active Jesuit himself, Kreihing was aiming not at religious censors, but rather at the regular Quintilians and Aristarchs.¹⁹ Gian Francesco Doni had no more sympathy for critics than he had for feudists and backbiters. He assigns poet-critics to the deepest swamp in his burlesque inferno. "Quei son Poeti mal dicenti che hanno spesso i loro studi in morder questo o quell'altro gentile spirito, hora per invidia & hora per malignità."²⁰ Their witticisms are "devil's food," containing no truth. Kreihing aimed another blow at critics. His emblem "Detractores critici, et maculas in sole vident" pictures two elders peering at the sun through telescopes. Who, inquires Kreihing, can retain fame very long against the judgment of critics to whom even the brilliance of the sun has blemishes? What astral body is nobler than that of Phoebus? "Nil tamen a criticis pulcherrime Phoebe mereris; in vitiosorum sed quoque castra venis."²¹ Indulging in one of his mixed metaphors, Christophorus Giarda addresses himself directly to critics: "You harvest no fruits by speaking, none by writing, none by eyeing others reprovingly other than what you write on your records (*albo*) for the benefit of stupid, slothful, and ignorant men."²² Giarda will grant no creativeness to criticism. And in his *Icones* Boissard recalls how the young poets of the Brigade (later the Pléiade) were censured for their Bacchic "Voyage d'Hercueil" and reflects gloomily that his envious generation would rather criticise others than remedy its own faults. "Nostra enim saecula invidia laborant, omnesque aliorum censores esse malumus quam nostra vitia et defectus corrigere."²³

Just as the emblematisers tried to disarm the political or ecclesiastical censors by stressing in their forewords the moral utility of their volumes, in their prologues they started parrying the anticipated thrusts of the critics. Such a one was Hernando de Soto:

A los que hieren les toca la vez de ser heridos (segun Persio dize) y tambien, porque cada uno ha de ser medido por la medida que midiére. Qualquiera maldiziente lengua deue abstenerse, si es que no consuela con la censura que

¹⁹ Johannes Kreihing, *Emblemata Ethico-Politica* (Antwerp, 1661), p. 32.

²⁰ Gian Francesco Doni, *I mondi* (Venice, 1552), p. 186.

²¹ Johannes Kreihing, *Emblemata Ethico-Politica* (Antwerp, 1661), p. 186.

²² Christophorus Giarda, *Icones symbolicae* (Milan, 1628), p. 135.

²³ Lebey de Batilly and Jean Jacques Boissard, *Icones virorum illustrium* (Frankfort, 1596), II, 112.

acostübra a dar a los Cuervos y palomas [the reference is to Juvenal, *Satires*, ii], que de calumnias y juyzios temerarios quien se escapa? ²⁴

Bocchi asked indulgence at the outset for omissions and defects in his *Quaestiones symbolicae*.²⁵ Alexander Barclay tried to disarm his critics *passim* throughout his English version of the *Stultifera Navis*. He concedes that certain defects may be attributed to his youth and "uncraftines." His most severe critics will no doubt be motivated by envy or by the realization that some of his social criticism will fall too close to home.

But if any thinke that I hit him to nere,
Let him not grudge, but keepe him coy and still.²⁶

Shortly thereafter comes his blunt dismissal of critics:

I care not for foolish backbiters, let them passe,
The sweet Cimbball is no pleasure to the asse.

At another point he reminds his readers that even Vergil—and by the late Renaissance Vergil had replaced Homer as the supreme poet ²⁷—had his backbiters:

What worke is that which may eche man content?
No worldly thing, forsooth, I trowe the same.²⁸

With this unpolished gem of Elizabethan wisdom, valid for all time, we leave the subject of literary quarrels and critics in the emblem books. They knew with Lope, as stated above, that their success depended not on the critics and theorists, but on the "vulgar corriente." And that success was a remarkable one. It did not surprise them, as it surprises us, that more editions of Alciati were printed in the sixteenth century than of the popular Rabelais.²⁹ The emblemata were for the most part complacent in the face of the many literary antagonists and critics, not letting them disturb the happy and tranquil lives which their profession earned them:

²⁴ Hernando de Soto, *Emblemas moralizadas* (Madrid, 1599), Prologo al Lector, n. p.

²⁵ Achille Bocchi, *Quaestiones symbolicae* (Bologna, 1624), p. ix.

²⁶ Alexander Barclay, *Stultifera Navis* (London, 1570), p. 226v.

²⁷ In his *Minerva Britanna*, for example, Henry Peacham substituted Vergil for Homer in the traditional Homer-Achilles contrast (London, 1612), p. 43.

²⁸ Alexander Barclay, *Stultifera Navis* (London, 1570), p. 259.

²⁹ The popularity of the emblem books is attested *passim* in Henry Green, *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers* (London, 1870), and E. N. S. Thompson, *Literary Byways of the Renaissance* (New Haven, 1924).

Gheleertheyt kan de menschen gheuen
Een vrolijck en gherustlijck leven.⁸⁰

This, at least, is the assurance given us in Van Veen's emblem: "A Musis tranquillitas."

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ROBERT J. CLEMENTS

Word-play in *Pearl*, 277-278

The use of rhetorical word-play by the author of *Pearl* has become a matter of common knowledge among critics of the poem, but an apparently unnoticed example of the poet's use of the technique of double-meaning occurs in lines 277-278 after the Pearl-maiden has rebuked the dreamer for saying that his Pearl is lost:

A juel to me þen wat3 þys geste,
And iuele3 wern hyr gentyl sawe3.¹
(277-278)

Since the subject of this work is a pearl, it seems logical to assume that the "iuele3" of line 278 which were the maiden's "sawe3" are to be recognized as pearls. This interpretation would also be applicable to the "juel" of the preceding line, which is the Pearl-maiden, since Gordon glosses "geste" as "guest; person that has newly arrived"²—an interpretation which can only be taken as referring to Pearl. But in view of the possible word-play in line 278, it is suggested that "geste" not only has the meaning of "guest" but also that it might have the meaning of "story" or "tale." Thus the piling up of "pearl" as a secondary meaning would be seen in translation as follows: A jewel (pearl) to me then was this guest (the Pearl-maiden) or tale (pearl), and jewels (pearls) were her gentle words (pearls). In this light, then, the poet may very well have had in mind the other pearl passage in *Evangelicum Secundum Matthaeum*

⁸⁰ Otto van Veen, *Horatii emblemata* (Antwerp, 1612), p. 156. On the general question of the emblematisers' views on literary success, see R. J. Clements, "The Cult of the Poet in Renaissance Emblem Literature," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, LIX (1944), 672-685, and "Pen and Sword in Renaissance Emblem Literature," *MLQ*, v (1944), 131-141.

¹ *Pearl*, ed. E. V. Gordon (Oxford, 1953), p. 10.

² *Pearl*, p. 132.

(vii, 6): "neque mittatis margaritas vestras ante porcos." This suggestion appears to fit the dramatic structure of the poem at this point. The dreamer feels that he has lost his Pearl, and the maiden must correct this idea which he has erroneously assumed.³ That the dreamer may be classed as one of the "porcos" is seen in the amount of instruction which the maiden must give him throughout the remainder of the poem. The dreamer is unconscious of the irony of what he says, but this irony is entirely appropriate to the poet, who with his authorial foreknowledge, sees the complete relationship between the dreamer and the Pearl-maiden.⁴

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The Magic of *In Principio*

Although the pleasant *In Principio* of Chaucer's friar which was so efficacious that it could procure a farthing from the poorest widow has not been uncommented on by scholars, the explanations have been so brief or peripheral that they are not satisfying or easily come by.¹

*One justification for this interpretation of "iuele3" is found in a passage in *Piers Plowman*, ed. W. W. Skeat (2 vols.; Oxford, 1924), B, X, 1-12, where Dame Study berates Wit for his instruction of Will, citing the same biblical passage as her authority. The relevant lines are:

And blamed hym and banned hym . and badde hym be styлле,
With suche wise wordes . to wissen any sottes;
And sayde, 'noli mittere, man . margerye-perlis
Amanges hogges, that han . hawes at wille.

(B, X, 7-10)

¹See Wendell R. Johnson, "The Imagery of *The Pearl*: Towards an Interpretation," *ELH*, xx (1953), 166-167, for a discussion of the poet-dreamer-Pearl relationship. While on the subject of the dramatic structure of the poem, it should be noted that Sister Mary Vincent in her "*Pearl*, 382: *mare reje mysse?*" *MLN*, lxxviii (1953), 528-529, does not make a clear distinction between the poet as poet and the poet as the dreamer when she argues against the interpretation presented by C. Hugh Holman in his "'Marere3 Mysse' in *The Pearl*," *MLN*, lxxvi (1951), 33-36, an article in which there is an awareness of this distinction. The failure to recognize the two roles of the poet can lead to unfortunate misinterpretations of the poem, interpretations in which the poet is accused of holding heretical opinions because of what the dreamer has said. It should be remembered by critics that the poet is also responsible for what the Pearl-maiden says.

²See John Jenkins, "Mediaeval Welsh Scriptures, Religious Legends and Midrash," *Transactions of the Honorable Society of Cymmrodorion, Session 1919-1920* (London, 1921), pp. 95-140; Adrian Fortescue, *The Mass, A Study*

Nor has, I believe, the full force and cultural context of the use of this citation been understood. Nor has anyone seen fit, as far as I know, to connect this line from the General Prologue with the nasty remarks of the Wife of Bath on the exorcising functions of the mendicants (*CT*, III, 857-881), to which it is properly linked. The only article completely devoted to explaining this line² was exclusively concerned with proving that the phrase came from John rather than Genesis I. i, and that it was a short tag to indicate the first fourteen verses of the Gospels rather than complete in itself. On both these points, I think it may be admitted that Professor Law proved his case.³ But the question still remains why did the friar use this Biblical passage and what did it properly signify?

For all these reasons, then, and because I have uncovered some hitherto unnoticed references to the use of the passage in the Middle Ages, I believe another essay at annotating this line may be in order.

My conclusions are based on the following primary sources, roughly arranged in chronological order. I am sure further material may easily be found.

(1) Remedy # LXII against fevers in *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, ed. O. Cockayne (Rolls Series), II, 134-137, prescribes, *inter alia*, drinking holy water into which has been washed the words "In principio . . . omnia per ipsum facta sunt" written on a sacramental wafer.

(2) "Quidam etiam laicorum, & maxime matronae, habent in consuetudine, ut persingulos dies audiant evangelium, *In principio erat Verbum*, & missas peculiares, hoc est de sancta Trinitate, aut de sancto Michael: & ideo sancitum est in eodem concilio, ut hoc ulterius non fiat, nisi suo tempore, & nisi aliquis fidelium audire velit pro reverentia sanctae Trinitatis, non pro aliqua divinatione; & si voluerint ut sibi missae cantentur, de eodem die audiant missas, vel pro salute vivorum, aut pro defunctis"—Council of Seligstadt (in

of the *Roman Liturgy* (London, 1912), pp. 392 ff.; W. Sparrow Simpson, "On the Forms of Prayer recited 'at the Healing' or Touching for the King's Evil," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xxvii (1871), 282-307; E. G. Cuthbert and F. Atchley, "Some Notes on the Beginning and Growth of the Usage of a Second Gospel at Mass," *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, iv (1896-1900), 161-176.

² See Robert Adger Law, "In Principio," *PMLA*, xxxvii (1922), 208-215. To the articles above and Law's must be added John S. P. Tatlock, "Notes on Chaucer: The Canterbury Tales," *MLN*, xxix (1914), 141-142. I have not listed a number of further explanations, notably those found in the standard editions of the *Canterbury Tales*, as they merely repeat the information and quotations given in the articles and books here cited. All quotations from and references to Chaucer are made from the F. N. Robinson edition of 1933.

³ In general the tag "In Principio" refers to the whole introductory part of the Gospel of John, that is, to the end of verse 14, or to any portion of it. Occasionally, on the incipit principle, it may refer to the whole Gospel.

Germany) 1022 from Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (1902 reproduction of Venice edition of 1774), Vol. XIX, cols. 397-398.

(3) Giraldus Cambrensis in *Gemma Ecclesiastica* (in *Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer [Rolls Series], II [1862], pp. 126-129) attacks the avarice of clergy in multiplying the number of gospels at mass. In England such a habit is especially popular after mass. He goes on to tell a story about St. Hugh of Lincoln who passed by a parish church and heard a priest singing mass and then reading over a number of gospels, "initium sancti evangelii" etc. The Bishop wondered what the priest would have to say tomorrow as he had exhausted all his stock today. When such priests are reproved by their superiors, they say "Quia medicina est et phantasma fugat, praecipue Johannis initium" (p. 129).

(4) The *Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolnensis* (ed. J. F. Dimock [Rolls Series], 1864, Book V, 9, pp. 273 ff.) tells how the same saint sent a demon out of a madman. He made the sign of the cross over him and read the Gospel selection "In principio erat verbum" until "plenum gratiae et veritatis" and sprinkled holy water on him (pp. 275-76).

(5) A similar story as (4) with a similar use of "In principio erat verbum" is told by Roger of Wendover of St. Hugh in his *Flowers of History* (ed. Hewlett [Rolls Series], 1886-1889, I, p. 305): "Episcopus, aqua benedicta [sic] a se facta, infirmum linguam emittentem et quasi ipsum deridentem aspersit, et evangelium 'In principio erat verbum' super furiosum legit, benedictionem dedit et recessit. Quo recedente, coepit aegrotus dormire et evigilans illico restitutus est pristinae sanitati."

(6) Gulielmus Durandus, *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (Venice 1577), Book IV, cap. 24, pp. 82-87, "De Evangelio." In general he says: "contra diabolum Evangelium legitur, ut illum sua virtute expellat, cum diabolus nihil tantum quantum Evangelium odit . . . cum ergo fides in Evangelio contineatur, quae est armatura nostra contra diabolum. . . . Deinde lecturus evangelium salutatur populum. . . . In quancunque domum intraueritis, primum dicite: Pax huic domui. Chorus vero, & populus quia si redditur attentus ad illum, & ad quancunque partem in qua Evangelium legitur se vertunt" (p. 84). On pp. 86-87 Durandus discusses the initia of the four gospels and their power, and gives especial force to that of St. John.⁴

(7) "Item, qui ob reverentiam Dei in qualibet missa quando *Credo in unum Deum* cantabitur seu dicetur, ab illo verbo *Qui propter nos homines* & genibus flexis steterit, xx. dies nostrum quilibet de injunctis sibi poenitentis misericorditer in Domino relaxamus vere poenitentibus & confessis. Et pari modo xx alios dies illis qui genua devote flexent cum in missa dicet *Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro*, nec non dicentibus & audientibus missa officium beatae Mariae Virginis, quod dicitur regulariter post missam aliam quamcumque cum S. Joannis evangelio videlicet, *In principio erat Verbum*, alios dies xx vere poenitentibus & confessis"—Council of Apt (in France) 1365 from Mansi, *op. cit.*, Vol. XXVI, col. 447.

⁴ Cf. St. Augustine, "When you have a headache, we praise you if you put a copy of the Gospels on it and do not have recourse to a amulet"—*Traot. in John*, VII. 12 (*PL*, xxxv, 1443: my translation).

- (8) ȝit prei vr ladi · as I ow telle
 þat ȝe forȝete not · þe god-spelle
 For þing · þat may bifalle.
 Tac a good extent · þer-to
 Hit is þe Inprincipio
 On latin · þat men calle.
 A ȝer and fourti dayes · atte lest
 For verbum caro factum est
 To pardoun · haue ȝe scalle.
 Mon or wommon · schal have þis,
 þat kneles down · þe eorþe to kis.
 For-þi · þenk on hit, alle.

("A Treatise of the Manner and Mede of the Mass," *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. T. F. Simmons [*EETS*, 71], [London 1879], p. 146, ll. 641-652). Simmons' note on this passage (pp. 383-4), to which I am indebted, is most useful.

(9) The *Spiritus Guydonis* (in *Yorkshire Writers, Richard Rolle of Ham-pole and his Followers*, ed. C. Horstman [London 1895-96], Vol. II, pp. 292-333) begins with an exorcism against evil spirits preparatory to speaking to the good spirit of Guy. A woman was tormented by the ghost of her husband Guy. She went to the Dominicans for help. She didn't know whether it "weore a gilerie of the fend or non." The prior of the house went with 200 men to her house and after having set some to guard the exits went in. He said "Pax huic domui" and sprinkled it with holy water and uttered other pious ejaculations such as "Veni creator spiritus." Then he went into the room where her husband died and said "Dominus vobiscum" and "afturward he seyde þe gospel of *In principio erat verbum*" (in prose version, p. 296), and the ghost stood beside the bed. The incident is similarly described (with the "In principio") in the verse version.

(10) Radulphus de Rivo, Dean of Tongres in Belgium († 1403) (in *Gesta Pontificum Leodiensium* under the year 1374, printed in *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae*, ed. Paul Fredericq [Ghent and The Hague, 1889], Part I, pp. 232-235) writes about a sect of dancers and flagellants who appeared in his diocese in the summer and fall of that year from Germany. Priests tried to drive devils out of them: "Deducti fuerunt eorum nonnulli ad capellam b. Mariae virginis sacram in clauistro S. Lamberti, ubi d. Ludovicus Loves sacerdos virtute Dei excitus, stola sacra in collum unius iniecta et Evangelio *In principio erat verbum* recitato, confestim illum e servitute daemonis liberauit; inde alios nouem eodem modo pristinae sanitati restituit. . . . In exorcismis peragendis frequens erat recitatio initij s. Evangelij secundum Joannem *In principio erat verbum*; addebantur a sacerdotibus et alia Euangelia, maxime ea quibus Christus obsessos a daemonio ecurasse legitur." For more difficult cases the Eucharist, laying on of hands, holy water and direct address were used (p. 234).

- (11) Why hate ye the gspell to be preached,
 sith ye be so much hold tertio?
 For ye win more by yeare

with *In principio*
than with all the rules
that ever your patrones made.

("Jacke Upland against the Friars" (early fifteenth century), in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. T. Wright [Rolls Series], 2 vols. [London 1859-61], II, p. 23).

(12) "And in like manner it is that thousands, while the priest pattereth St. John's gospel in Latin over their heads, cross themselves with I trow, a legion of crosses, behind and before; . . . and believe that if it be done in the time that he readeth the gospel (and else not) that there shall no mischance happen them that day, because only of those crosses. . . . And if he leave it undone, he thinketh it no small sin, and that God is highly displeased with him, and if any misfortune chance, thinketh it is therefore; which is also idolatry, and not God's word. . . . And such [idolatry] is that some hang a piece of St. John's gospel about their necks. . . . Such is the saying of gospels unto women in child-bed. Such is the limiter's saying of 'In principio erat verbum,' from house to house" (William Tyndale, *An Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*, ed. Henry Walter [Parker Society; Cambridge, 1850], pp. 61-62).

(13) This Gospel passage was also used in the English rite at the Touching for the King's Evil practised down to the early eighteenth century,⁵ although apparently no liturgies have been found earlier than the time of Henry VII. It remained in the *Book of Common Prayer* until the mid-eighteenth century at least. It is reasonable to assume the oldest extant form reflects earlier practices. It is clear that it is a variant of the Catholic exorcism ritual.

(14) The ordinary Catholic rite of exorcizing demons at present in the *Rituale Romanum* (Titulus XI [ed. Turin/Rome, 1926; edition of Pope Paul V brought up to date by the authority of Pope Pius XI) still gives (p. 392) a very important place to John I. 1-14; it is the first reading of several from the Gospels. And interestingly enough in view of its exorcizing power as revealed in the quotations above, it is the passage recommended to be read at the conclusion of the ritual, *De Visitatione et cura infirmorum* (*ibid.*, p. 136).

I have given so many quotations and paraphrases bearing on *In principio*, although most have been noted before, because they present very vividly the cultural context of the passage, usually in words which cannot be bettered and because it is convenient to have at one's disposal the materials which will elucidate a puzzling line in a masterpiece. Needless to say, there are no doubt many more passages from medieval documents which would bear on this subject, but completeness is not necessary or even possible.

Among the Church Fathers, this passage from John was a favorite⁶

⁵ See Simpson, *op. cit.*

⁶ See Fortescue, *The Mass*, pp. 393-394.

and a search of their works would reveal examples. At some date this passage began to pass into popular consciousness, certainly by the early Middle Ages, as a highly efficacious remedy, along with such objects as the cross itself, against the ills of life, most of which could be attributed to demons. Possibly it was first used in exorcism ceremonies, for I have not traced back its history. It is reported as being used early at baptism, again probably to ward off evil spirits from the innocent child, and at extreme unction to protect one in his passage to the next world from the "hosts of the air."⁷ The classical and medieval periods abound in the belief in evil demons, and one hardly need illustrate this almost universal popular belief. The Gospels themselves present a perfect picture of a demon-ridden populace. Among the lower orders in the Roman clergy, there still exists the grade of exorcist who exercised in early times an important function.⁸ I suspect, although I have not traced the passage back, that the introduction to the Gospel of John was early used in exorcisms.

In any case by the tenth and eleventh centuries we have evidence of the use of this passage from John for divination and magic (see 1 and 2 above). It began to be used sporadically in the service after the singing of mass as (3) clearly shows. It spread widely and its powers were more and more used especially for demonic exorcism. Its function in (4), (5), (9) and (10) is clearly exorcistic, as it still is in the modern exorcism ritual (14).

By the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it was used as an apotropaic formula and preserved as well its original function, and in some cases was actually encouraged by the church (see 6, 7 and 8). I have not found any documentary evidence to illustrate why it should have been used especially by the friars, but it is easy to see why they who penetrated into all walks of life and carried Christ into the market place as it were should have used this text as a blessing and as an exorcistic or apotropaic device.⁹

⁷ See R. M. Woolley, *Exorcism and the Healing of the Sick* (Published for the Church Historical Society; London, 1932), pp. 29 ff. and 84; and "Gospel" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vi, 662-663.

On the hosts of the air, see Alfred C. Rush, "An Echo of Christian Antiquity in St. Gregory the Great: Death a Struggle with the Devil," *Traditio*, III (1945), 369-380.

⁸ See Woolley, *op. cit.*, pp. 29 ff.; and "Exorcist" in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, v, 711-712.

On the subject of exorcism and exorcist, see the excellent articles by J. Forget in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, v, 1762-1786.

⁹ Cf., however, the exemplum "De fide" in the *Liber exemplorum ad usum praedicantium* (ed. A. G. Little [British Society of Franciscan Studies, I],

It was widely believed in the Middle Ages, as in earlier times, that the world was full of evil forces. As the author of *Piers Plowman* writes, speaking of the fallen angels:

Whan thise wikked went out · wonderwise thei fellen,
Somme in eyre, somme in erthe and somme in helle depe.

(B 1, 122-123)

What Charles Diehl writes of the Byzantine mind of the twelfth century was true, one may be sure, of its Occidental counterpart:

L'imagination byzantine se représentait volontiers le monde comme plein de mauvais génies, d'esprits malfaisants qui étaient capables, invisibles, de passer à travers les portes les mieux closes. Contre ces esprits, il importait de se protéger de toutes les manières, par des formules magiques, des amulettes, des talismans.¹⁰

It is very easy for us, urban heirs of the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and eighteenth-century rationalism, to forget this basic fact of medieval life.

And Chaucer himself as often happens is his own best commentator, even though it is here given a humorous twist. Through the mouth of the Wife of Bath, we are given a picture of the friars driving out the incubi who wait upon womankind, a remark which must have struck a responsive chord. The very syntax of the line in the General Prologue with its "his" indicates frequent use of this Gospel passage. And besides Chaucer, there is Jack Upland (11) and Tyndale (12) to back up the picture.

We must see, then, the Friar entering into homes and uttering a well-known apotropaic formula which to superstitious folk helped to clear the air of the malignant forces which lay everywhere ready to strike and for which it was natural to give an offering no matter how small. The Friar not only begged, he also gave, according to the lights of many, some value for what he received—and not only as an intermediary in distributing charity. It is in this light, I believe, that this line in the general prologue must be read.

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Aberdeen 1908), pp. 85-86, of the thirteenth century, in which Friar Thomas O'Quinn, Bishop of Clonmacnois, boasts that the friars do more against demons and say more about them than all the "homines de mundo."

¹⁰ See his *La Société Byzantine à l'Epoque des Commènes, conférences faites à Bucarest (avril 1929)* (Paris, 1929), p. 58.

A Lost Play of Perkin Warbeck

In his essay on John Ford, Mr. T. S. Eliot makes the following comment:

*Perkin Warbeck . . . is unquestionably Ford's highest achievement, and is one of the very best historical plays outside of the works of Shakespeare in the whole of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama. To make this base-born pretender to the throne of England into a dignified and heroic figure was no light task, and is not one which we should, after reading the other plays, have thought Ford competent to perform.*¹

Whatever one may think of *Perkin Warbeck* or Mr. Eliot's evaluation, few readers would disagree that the play is something of a departure from Ford's accustomed manner. But no one else, so far as I know, has suggested that *Perkin Warbeck* is beyond Ford's normal capabilities as a playwright.

Mr. Eliot's comment is all the more intriguing in view of the fact that it now seems likely there was an earlier play on the same subject. *Perkin Warbeck* was published in 1634 and was probably written within a few years prior to that date. Yet in his *History of the Earl of Tyrone* (1619) Thomas Gainsford says: "How *Perkin Warbeck*, for all his exhaled vapouring, went forward assisted by the Scottish policie, Flemmish credulitie, and inueterat malice of the Duches of *Burgundy*, against the house of *Lancaster*, our stages of *London*, haue instructed those which cannot read."² Of this alleged play no fragment apparently remains. It is not listed in Professor Harbage's *Annals*. Dr. Mildred C. Struble has said flatly that "Ford had no earlier drama for guide."³ Yet it seems unlikely that Gainsford could be mistaken. Not only is his statement quite plain and unequivocal, but he had particular reason to be interested in Perkin. Just the year before his book on Tyrone appeared, he had published the *History of Perkin Warbeck*, which Ford drew upon in his drama.

It would be useful to know when the play was performed, but Gainsford unfortunately gives no hint. He does, however, appear to be writing of something he has seen. If we assume his personal familiarity with the play, it is possible to narrow somewhat the area of conjecture. He was absent from London much of the time between

¹ *Selected Essays* (New York, 1932), p. 177. The italics are mine.

² Introduction, p. 4.

³ *A Critical Edition of Ford's Perkin Warbeck* (Univ. of Washington Press, 1926), p. 16.

1600 and 1619, and boasts he has seen "most countries of Europe."⁴ It is possible to work out, on the basis of his writings and the few known facts, a sketchy itinerary. He was in Ireland from 1600 probably until 1606.⁵ In 1607 and 1608 he was traveling on the continent and around the Mediterranean.⁶ He may have returned to London in the latter part of 1608 or in 1609, for he seems to be well started as a writer in 1610. His *Vision and Discourse of Henry VII* was entered in the *Stationers' Register* on May 30, and he was apparently already at work on *The Glory of England*, which was not published until 1618.⁷ Then for some reason he undertook to occupy land in the plantation of Ulster.⁸ He drops out of sight from 1610 until October 9, 1615, when both *The History of Trebizond* and *The Secretaries' Study* were entered in the *Stationers' Register*.

If we assume that he was in Ireland between 1610 and 1614, Gainsford is probably writing of a play he saw either in the years 1608-1610 or 1614-1618.⁹ His comment implies there were many performances. It is therefore likely that John Ford knew of the play and that his

⁴ *The Glory of England* (London, 1618), Preface, p. 9. The *DNB* account of Gainsford is quite inadequate. Some additional details are provided in C. H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925-52), II, 173-174 n.; x, 265.

⁵ A captain in the Irish wars against Tyrone, Gainsford was wounded in a fight at the Moyrie in October, 1600 (*Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, 1600*, pp. 463, 465, 529). He recovered rapidly enough to take part in the key battle at Kinsale in December, 1601, and witnessed Tyrone's submission to Mountjoy in March, 1603 (*History of the Earl of Tyrone, Dedication*). He apparently stayed on in Ireland, for he says he witnessed the Irish reaction in November, 1605, and the months following to the English mandate to attend church (*The Glory of England*, p. 293). He may be the Gainsford who was pensioned in 1606 "in respect to a maim received in Her late Majesty's wars" (*C.S.P., Ireland, 1608-1610*, p. 423).

⁶ Details of his observations abroad are to be found in his works, especially *The Glory of England* and *The Secretaries' Study*. Gainsford arrived in Constantinople in August, 1607, and remained in that vicinity at least until December of that year (*The Secretaries' Study*, p. 106; *The Glory of England*, p. 35 and *passim*). In March, 1608, he saw Tyrone pass through Milan on the way to Rome (*History of the Earl of Tyrone, Introduction*, p. 6).

⁷ See p. 71 and the marginal note.

⁸ *C.S.P., Ireland, 1608-1610*, p. 367.

⁹ It is very unlikely that Gainsford is referring to a play he saw before 1600. In the first place, he writes as though he expected his readers to be familiar with his allusions to the play. Then, it is most unlikely that a play like *Perkin Warbeck*, involving so intimately a Tudor king, would have been licensed during Elizabeth's reign. Finally, Gainsford's military career did not begin in Ireland, and there is every likelihood that he was away from London in the decade before 1600 as much as in the decade after. Before he went to Ireland, he saw action in France along with Captains Josias Bodley and Aubrey York, both of whom he mentions. He writes, moreover, as one on intimate terms with the famous soldier Sir Roger Williams, who died in 1595.

Perkin Warbeck was influenced to some degree. It is tempting—though fruitless—to conjecture that Ford may even have had a hand in the early version and that the *Perkin Warbeck* we know is a later and very careful revision by a playwright aware, as he had not been earlier, of the literary value of dramatic works. To be sure, one critic has said there is “no proof that Ford wrote at all for the stage before 1621.”¹⁰ But in 1621 John Ford was about thirty-five years old. It is difficult to believe he was just then beginning his career as a playwright.

Conjecture of this kind is, of course, not very helpful in the absence of facts. The one fact seems to be that there was an early play about *Perkin Warbeck*. Although there is no way of ascertaining how old it was, it is most unlikely that Thomas Gainsford could have seen it before 1608. Commentators on Ford who share Mr. Eliot’s reservations about his competency ought to consider to what extent the uniqueness of *Perkin Warbeck* in the Ford canon is to be explained by reference to the earlier play.

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Webster’s Borrowings from Whetstone

To the growing list of minor sources for *The Duchess of Malfi* should be added one more: George Whetstone’s *Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses* (1582). Its brief and conventional discussion of the duchess’ tragedy betrays no influence upon Webster’s play.¹ He was instead indebted to the work, as to most of his other sources, for adaptable images and sententiae. The most extended and least literal of his few borrowings is from Whetstone’s initial debate on “the difference between the Married state and the single lyfe”:

¹⁰ M. Joan Sargeaunt, *John Ford* (Oxford, 1935), p. 17.

¹ Sig. Q2^v. It is interesting, however, to see that Webster borrowed from two of the five Elizabethan works, other than Painter, which are known to refer to the duchess’ tragic marriage. See F. L. Lucas, ed., *The Complete Works of John Webster* (London, 1927), II, 15. Webster citations below are from this edition.

HEPTAMERON

Sig. C3^vf.:

... you flye to the authoritie of a company as spotted as *Labans* Sheepe. ...² And where *Ismarito*, attributes such Glorie unto a *Single lyfe*, because that *Daphne* was metamorphosed into a Bay Tree, whose Branches are alwayes greene: In my op[i]nion, his reason is fayre lyke the Bay Tree; for the Bay Tree is barren of pleasant fruit, & his plesing words of weighty matter.

Furthermore, what remembrance is theare of faire *Sirinæ* coynesse, refusing to be God *Pans*³ wife? other then that she was metamorphosed into a fewe unprofitable Reedes: Or of *Anaxaretes* chaste crueltie towardes *Iphis*, ouer [sic] then that she remaineth an Image of Stone in *Samarin*.

Many other suche lyke naked Monumentes remayne, of nice contempners of *Marriage*.

But in the behalfe of *Mariage*, thousands haue ben changed into *Olyue*, *Pomegranate*, *Mulberie*, and other fruitfull trees, sweete flowers, Starres, and precious Stones, by whom the worlde is beautified, directed and noorished.

THE DUCHESS OF MALFI

I. i. 328-29. FERD[INAND].

Their livers are more spotted
Then *Labans* sheepe.

III. ii. 31-39. ANT[ONIO].

O fie upon this single life: forgoe it:
We read how *Daphne*, for her peevish flight⁴

Became a fruitless Bay-tree: *Sirinæ*
turn'd

To the pale empty Reede: *Anaxarete*
Was frozen into Marble: whereas
those

Which married, or prov'd kind unto
their friends

Were, by a gracious influence, transhap'd

Into the Oliffe, Pomgranet, Mulbery:
Became Flowres, precious Stones, or
eminent Starres.⁵

² Whetstone, who frequently repeats himself, uses the same simile in his *English Myrror* (1586), sig. C3. I have not encountered it elsewhere in Elizabethan literature. In both instances Whetstone applies it to those of the Church of Rome who have taken the vow of chastity. Webster's application is similar, but made more vivid by "liver." Cf. Rosalind's promise "to wash your liver as clean as a sound sheep's heart, that there shall not be one spot of love in't" (*As You Like It*, III. ii. 442-45). Her pastoral simile, of course, has little in common with Whetstone's Biblical one.

³ Webster may have used the 1593 edition, titled *Avrelia*. There "*Paris*" is misprinted for "*Pans*." This error, plus the reference to "naked Monumentes" a few lines after, may have reminded Webster of "*Paris*' case" when confronted by the three "naked" goddesses. Antonio and Cariola discuss his choice in lines 40-47, immediately after Antonio's speech based on the present passage.

⁴ The quartos read "slight" rather than "flight," perhaps correctly, though there are clear misprints in the next two lines. Whetstone, at least, refers only to Daphne's refusal. Lucas alters because "her flight is too essential a part of the story."

⁵ Lucas cites the relevant passages from Ovid, but he objects to Antonio's

Webster next transfers a sober sententia to mad Ferdinand's ravings in the final bloody scene:

Sig. H2:

What difference was there between the Fortunes of *Cesar* and *Pompey*, when their endes were both violent: saue that I hould *Cesars* to be the harder: for that he was murthered in the Armes of Prosperytie, and *Pompey*, at the feete of Disgrace.

V.v. 75-77. FERD[INAND].

Now you're brave fellows: *Caesars* Fortune was harder then *Pompeys*: *Caesar* died in the armes of prosperity, *Pompey* at the feete of disgrace: you both died in the field—

A few pages later he finds another simile to adapt:

Sig. 12v:

. . . no man dyneth worse, then hoping
Tantalus.

I.i. 57-58. BOS[OLA].

. . . what creature ever fed worse,
then hoping *Tantalus*?

And lastly, near the close of the work, he seizes on a juxtaposed commonplace and "Websterian" image:

Sig. U3:

. . . let this comfort you: that thinges when they are at the worst, begin againe to amend.* . . . The Bee, when he hath lefte his stinge in your hande without dainger may playe with your eye lidde.

IV.i. 91-94. BOS[OLA].

Leave this vaine sorrow;
Things being at the worst, begin to mend: the Bee
When he hath shot his sting into your hand
May then play with your eye-lyd.

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"Oliffe" as inappropriate and he cannot account for the "Pomgranet" reference. He probably explains Webster's references, nevertheless, better than Webster himself could have done.

*This first sentence is proverbial; see M. P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor, 1950), T 216.

Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* and the Jig of "Singing Simpkin"

Gerard Langbaine could seem to think of nothing to say of Tourneur's *Atheist's Tragedy* but that "The Plot of *Levidulcia*, her Conveying *Sebastian* and *Fresco* out of her Chamber, when she was surpris'd by her Husband *Belleforrest's* Coming [II. 4], is borrow'd from Boccace, Day the 7. Nov. the 6," and subsequent scholars have flocked to the bellwether in commenting on this rich comic scene.¹ However, there is little in common between Tourneur's delightfully preposterous lasciviousness and the Boccaccian tale of a twice-interrupted tryst of Madonna Isabella with Leonetto, her handsome young gallant, but the trick by which the ladies in the case allow their lovers to escape under the very eyes of the betrayed husband. Boccaccio's young and beautiful gentle lady is wooed and won by a captivating suitor. With the connivance of a pandar maid, she hides him when their meeting is interrupted by a visit from Captain Lambertuccio, whose attentions are forced upon her by intimidation, and she escapes unscathed upon her husband's sudden arrival by sending the captain roaring out with drawn sword and oaths, afterwards producing Leonetto with the tale that she had hidden the young man when the furious soldier pursued him into the house. Tourneur's *Levidulcia* itches with lechery at the sight of a farewell kiss exchanged by her daughter-in-law and the girl's betrothed; she argues that the girl is foolish in preferring "th' affection of an absent Loue, / Before the sweet possession of a man" because "our creation has no reference to man; but in his body" (I. 4: 82-86); and she makes an assignation with a young courtier, but unable to bide his coming employs every knowing trick to heat the blood and courage of *Fresco*, a clownish servant. Having prodded *Fresco* to an embrace, she hides him upon the arrival of the courtier, then employs the Boccaccian trick when her husband frustrates this second attempt at love.

But the formula of the escape trick had been employed in an

¹ Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691), p. 505. Cf. the echoes in J. Churton Collins, *Plays and Poems of Cyril Tourneur* (London, 1878), I, 160; J. A. Symonds, *Webster and Tourneur*, Mermaid edition (London, 1888), p. 283; A. C. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature* (London, 1899), III, 68; F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama 1558-1642* (Boston, 1908), I, 564 [which says "the major plot" is derived from the Italian tale!]; A. C. Lee, *The Decameron, Its Sources and Analogues* (London, 1909), p. 212; Allardyce Nicoll, ed., *Works of Cyril Tourneur* (London, 1930), p. 23.

English version of the story a few years before *The Atheist's Tragedy* appeared. And this version bears such marked resemblance in tone to the Levidulcia scene that it must replace Boccaccio as Tourneur's source and, in doing so, add one more evidence that the theatre itself was the vital orbit in which this shadowy master-melodramatist moved. This source was the stage jig of "Singing Simpkin," which first appeared in translation in *Engelische Comedien und Tragedien* (1620) and appeared in English, with two additional stanzas, in Cox's *Actaeon and Diana* (1656).² In spite of the late date of publication, there is agreement that the piece was an active Elizabethan jig. Aside from the obvious structural indications, dating is aided by two pieces of evidence: the opening lines are a probable adaptation of a broad-side song issued at Basle in 1592,³ and a *S. R.* entry of October 21, 1595, for "a ballad called Kemps *newe Jygge*" which Lawrence⁴ and Baskervill⁵ believe to refer to "Singing Simpkin." In the jig one finds the tone set, as in Tourneur, by the bubbling lasciviousness of the wife, who goes at least halfway to meet her visitors' advances, singing gaily, "You know my affection, & no one knows more." But more important is the character of the "first" lover, for in "Simpkin" and Tourneur alone, among all the versions, the young gallant has been transformed into a "clown" of low degree and unscrubbed vocabulary. It is this figure in both versions, too, who gives real vitality to the episode as an ironic commentator. In "Simpkin" he fills out almost every stanza with insulting asides to the soldier-lover and the husband from the security of his hiding place. And he elaborates a long story to the husband which accounts for the situation (a function he shares with the soldier), whereas in other versions there is only a sentence or two devoted to the telling of the lie. In

² Charles Read Baskervill, *The Elizabethan Jig* (Chicago, 1929), pp. 234-8 discusses the jig and its sources and echoes, and reprints it, pp. 444-9. It was again discussed and reprinted in John Elson's edition of *The Wits, or Sport upon Sport* ([1662-73] Ithaca, 1932), pp. 180-6, 383-5. Sketchy English adumbrations appeared in *Mery Tales and Quicke Answers*, li (1567), and Samuel Rowlands' *The Knave of Clubs* (1600). A meatier version in *Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie* (c. 1590) was in every respect except the boorishness of the soldier, a close following of Boccaccio. None of these had anything in common in tone or characterisation with "Singing Simpkin," which worked the old material into an original creation. Therefore, I cannot agree with Baskervill's tentative suggestion that the jig of "Simpkin," already active, might have been the actual basis of the telling in *Tarltons Newes* (cf. Baskervill, p. 235).

³ Baskervill, p. 236, citing Bolte, *Singspiele der englischen Komödianten*.

⁴ W. J. Lawrence, *Pre-Restoration Stage Studies* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 90.

⁵ Baskervill, p. 235. Rollins demurs without giving his reason in a review of *The Elizabethan Jig* in *JEPG*, xxviii (1929), 553.

The Atheist's Tragedy Fresco emerges from hiding and is carried to the heights of his creative possibilities in making up a long tale of incredible behavior by his "pursuer" which literally, as well as in rambling circumstantiality, seems the original of the shaggy-dog story. At the end of this fantastic account, the husband can only gasp, "Why this saours of distraction," and Fresco mocks him aside, "Howsoever it saours, I am sure it smels of a lye." Like Simpkin, having once begun, Fresco mocks Belforest at every turn of the latter's kindness until the scene ends. Hyperbole was Tourneur's natural mode, but it is only in his adaptation of this popular stage farce that it enters his plays of providential retribution in the form of comic amorality.

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The Unclean Meats of the Mosaic Law and the Banquet Scene in *Paradise Regained*

When Satan offers food to Jesus in *Paradise Regained* he introduces the actual appearance of the banquet with a deliberate lie, the significance of which seems to have been overlooked. Jesus had so far admitted his hunger and willingness to end the fast as to concede that food might be acceptable to him, but only as he found the donor acceptable.

Why should that
Cause thy refusal, said the subtle Fiend,
Hast thou not right to all Created things,
Owe not all Creatures by just right to thee
Duty and Service, nor to stay till bid,
But tender all their power? nor mention I
Meats by the Law unclean.¹

Satan, in effect, contradicts himself, reminding Jesus first that he has right to *all* created things, whereupon he excludes meats prohibited by the Mosaic Law. But leaving, for the moment, the contradictory terms of the offer, what is actually piled upon the board has its own particular interest:

¹ *P. R.*, II. 322-328.

Beasts of chase, or Fowl of game,
In pastry built, or from the spit, or boy'd,
Gris-amber-steam'd; all Fish from Sea or Shore,
Freshet, or purling Brook, of shell or fin.²

Milton, after having Satan mention "Meats by the Law unclean" only a few lines above, will not have forgotten that shell fish of all sorts and certain kinds of fish (without scales), to say nothing of gris-amber, are utterly forbidden by the Mosaic dietary laws.³ And though the other meats are unspecified there are very few "Beasts of chase" or "Fowl of game" which do not come under the same prohibition. That this deception is intended is made clearer by the edgy manner with which Satan repeats his earlier assurance, tinged with a sarcastic allusion to his first success in offering forbidden fruit to Eve.

What doubts the Son of God to sit and eat?
These are not Fruits forbidden, no interdict
Defends the touching of these viands pure,
Thir taste no knowledge works.⁴

Satan's hope or intention in introducing these pointed references to the Mosaic dietary laws, while the actual cates on the board openly branded his words as a lie, could not have been to deceive Jesus as to the Law, for, as Satan later admitted, even as a child Jesus was found

Among the gravest Rabbies disputant
On points and questions fitting Moses Chair,
Teaching not taught.⁵

Some more elaborate and sophisticated purpose or purposes may therefore be sought.

As a beginning it may be well to recall something of Milton's own attitude towards the Mosaic Law. Because it is related to the positions he assumed in his works on divorce, church, and civil government, it is not an attitude which lends itself to a summary analysis. But it is clear that he had ultimately rejected the entire positive law of Moses as "that law which, not only cannot justify, but [which] is the source of trouble and subversion to believers; which even tempts God if we endeavour to perform its requisitions."⁶ Un-

² *P. R.*, II. 342-345.

³ In *Leviticus*, xi. 4-31.

⁴ *P. R.*, II. 368-371.

⁵ *P. R.*, IV. 218-220.

⁶ *The Christian Doctrine*, Book I, Chapter 27, *The Works of John Milton* (New York, 1933), Vol. xvi, p. 137.

doubtedly then, such detailed ritualistic prohibitions as are enjoined in *Leviticus xi* would have for him no positive force as expressing the everlasting will of God. Moreover, there is an indication here that any assumption restricting Man's free will and faith by chaining piety or virtue to such injunctions would act as an instrument of temptation. The danger latent in these laws, when considered as absolute commandments, becomes apparent when Satan deliberately assumes that their prohibitive force is still binding upon Jesus.

Taken by itself, this, the second of the two contradicting assumptions upon which Satan bases his offer, provides the means by which the lie he utters is easily recognized. If the Mosaic dietary laws are the criteria, then the food he conjures up is manifestly unclean; and it would seem that, in effect, Satan is inviting Jesus to accept the laws and contradict him. But Jesus had said that only the acceptability of the giver would determine his own acceptance or rejection of the banquet. As may be seen shortly, to have forced Jesus to deny his own words and shift his ground would have constituted in itself a minor victory for Satan. Or it may have been the Tempter's hope that Jesus would accept the laws but prove too weak to withstand, after his fast, the actual sight of food. In which case Jesus taking no exception to the lie would implicate himself in it and thus be damned in his own eyes for eating, like Eve, food expressly forbidden by the word of God. And Satan may even have expected that Jesus, to rationalize his act, would temporize with the terms of God's laws, just as first Eve, then Adam, temporized with the terms of God's decree to them. The analogy is, of course, false, because God's laws in *Leviticus* were conditional for Milton whereas the decree to Adam and Eve was not. However, by getting Jesus to accept the dietary laws as equally absolute the effect upon him, had he eaten, would possibly have been equal to the guilt and remorse which Adam and Eve experienced after the Fall.

But I believe that if these possibilities existed their consummation would have produced for Satan a satisfaction tempered somewhat by the knowledge that he had still to succeed in a greater struggle. For success here might have proved that Jesus was merely a man and resolved Satan's basic doubt as to whether he had before him in the person of Jesus the veritable Saviour and Son of God. It may be, therefore, that this hope of determining the identity of Jesus accounts for the apparently paradoxical terms in which the offer is phrased. Satan at first rightly pointed out that, as the Saviour, Jesus could

eat of all things. The rejection of the second assumption, that he was bound by the dietary laws, might have confirmed the strong suspicion in Satan's mind that Jesus was indeed the Saviour, so that the first assumption, properly speaking, was less of a temptation and more a studied attempt to establish a standard by which, in one respect, the Saviour would be known.

Through it also, Satan tried to divert the argument from the acceptability of the giver to the acceptability of the gifts, stressing that as the Messiah he had dominion over all and his power rendered all things pure. When the banquet is produced and Jesus does not eat, Satan reiterates in his questions the power of Jesus and hence the purity of the food. In the manner in which Jesus replies to the Tempter there is a parallel to the way in which the biblical Christ evaded the attempts of the Pharisees to inveigle him into denying the Mosaic Law. Characteristically Jesus himself answers his questioner with questions:

Said'st thou not that to all things I had right?
And who withholds my pow'r that right to use?
Shall I receive by gifts what of my own,
When and where likes me best, I can command?⁷

For Milton, part of Christ's mission was undoubtedly the abrogation of the positive law of Moses, but it would have been incongruous for the Saviour to argue the point of ritual purity with Satan. Milton's view of "purity" is clear, as may be seen in *The Christian Doctrine* where he quotes from Scriptures, "all things indeed are pure," and, "unto the pure all things are pure; but unto them that are defiled and unbelieving is nothing pure, but even their mind and conscience is defiled."⁸ It is this which helps to explain why the significance of this scene relative to the Mosaic Law generally, and the dietary laws in particular, has been neglected. Where Jesus did not deny the ritual cleanliness of the food offered him none have looked for evidence of uncleanness. But it is easy to see why Jesus did not deny their cleanliness, for as Milton, and indeed all Christians would see it, the food really was pure and clean, but not for the reason Satan offered. This perversion of a Christian truism illustrates the earlier charge Christ directed at Satan, that

⁷ *P. R.*, II. 379-382.

⁸ Book I, Chapter 27, *Works*, Vol. XVI, p. 127. See also the gloss of the first citation when Milton used it in the argument of *Arcopagitica*: "To the pure all things are pure, not only meats and drinks, but also all kinde of knowledge (*Works*, IV, 308).

lying is thy sustenance, thy food.
Yet thou pretend'st to truth.⁹

and which he here repeats when he finally dismisses the banquet,

Thy pompous Delicacies I contemn,
And count thy specious gifts no gifts but guiles.¹⁰

Having asserted his right to have what is his own, Jesus contemptuously rejects the banquet for the reason which the possessive adjective "thy" in the lines just quoted makes clear; he does not like the giver. And if the conclusions of this enquiry are correct, Milton here intended the word "guiles" to refer to a far more tangled nexus of deceit than has been recognized. Whatever implications the offer yields, much of it no doubt has escaped notice simply because the ease with which Jesus frustrates Satan conceals some of the content and complexity of the temptation.

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Several Words First Employed in D'Urfey's *The Richmond Heiress*

In a recent study of Thomas D'Urfey's comedy *The Richmond Heiress* (1693), I turned up a number of words used in the play earlier than the first illustrations cited in the *New English Dictionary*. Since the first illustration of a word in the *NED* is supposedly the earliest known usage in English, these prior examples are of interest. Among these are:

P. 13 "... my Lady's farewell-Bottel of *Aquamirabilis*." The earliest example of *Aquamirabilis* in the *NED* is dated 1741, although a variant form, *Mirabilis*, had been used by Dryden as early as 1673. Shadwell had used the term still earlier in *Epsom-Wells* (1673/4), II, i: "... and gave thee *Aqua Mirabilis*, to fetch up the Water off thy Stomach?"

⁹ *P. R.*, I. 429-430. It may also be noted in this connection that by advising that Parthia should be chosen, as the rising power, for an alliance against Rome (*P. R.*, III. 359-370) Satan's intention again was to mislead, for Rome was in the period of her great age and was to suffer no diminution of power for centuries.

¹⁰ *P. R.*, II. 390-391.

P. 19 "... he says he stews his Gold-Chain in Harts-horn Jelly. . . ." 1769 is the date of the first example of *Hartshorn Jelly* in the *NED*.

P. 27 "... and for ought I know, thrown into the Horsepond." The first illustration of *Horsepond* in the *NED* is dated 1701.

The earliest illustration of *Bandy* given in the *NED* quotes from "Shinkin's Song to the Harp," in the preliminary leaves of *The Richmond Heiress* ("At Bandy once and Cricket"), but identifies it erroneously as "1693 D'Urfey *Yorksh. Heiress*." Since there is no such play as *The Yorkshire Heiress*, *The Richmond Heiress* is obviously intended.

There are also in *The Richmond Heiress* at least two words which are not defined in the *NED*. The first of these, occurring on p. 3, is *Insanery*, meaning an asylum for the insane. The context reads: "He was first Apothecary of a Physick-Garden; but . . . got himself into Money and Reputation, and is now, forsooth, President of the Insanery." The other term (p. 64) is *Rump Croshet*, appearing in the Epilogue, in the lines: "*Besides a fine bred Miss embroider'd round / With a Rump Croshet worth five hundred Pound.*" *Croshet* is not listed in the *NED*, but *Rump-jewel* is given without a definition. A *Rump Croshet* would seem to be a jewel in the shape of a cross, possibly worn on the back of a dress. D'Urfey had used the term before in *Love for Money* (1691), Act I, Scene i: "Would not you want a Croshet of Diamonds, a Neck-lace of Pearl. . . ." ¹

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Sarah Scott's *Agreeable Ugliness*, a Translation

A correction in the canon of Sarah Scott's writings needs to be made. The last and only full study ¹ lists all her writings known to date, among which *Agreeable Ugliness; or The Triumph of the Graces* ² is identified as one of the works she published in 1754. It must be pointed out, however, that this is not an original work but

¹ See *N & Q*, Vol. 194, No. 24, p. 508.

² Walter Marion Crittenden, *The Life and Writings of Mrs. Sarah Scott, Novelist (1723-1795)* (Philadelphia, 1932).

³ (London, Printed for R. & J. Dodsley, 1754).

her translation of the French novel by Pierre-Antoine de La Place, *La Laideur Aimable, et les dangers de la Beauté*.³

In a letter, dated 1754, Sarah Scott writes to her sister, Elizabeth Montagu:

I should be obliged to you if you would tell me what french dictionary is the best for the modern french, the language in the trifling books now published is so altered from what it was in its glory . . . I have likewise another favor to ask which is a great secret, I need not beg you will not mention to any living soul. You often have french novels before they become common, if you could help me to any, a time spent in translating would turn much to my profit, if I could get a translation done before any other had published one which I could easily do if I had the original before it became common. I translated the *Laideur Aimable* Dodsley bought it, I am not sure whether it is published or no.⁴

The content here, as far as the immediate problem of authorship is concerned, is clear enough. Her translation appeared two years after La Place's French original. The kind of paradox implied by the title is never repeated in any other of Sarah Scott's works but is used once again by La Place in *L'Heureuse Infortune*.⁵ A comparison of the works in question, furthermore, shows that the translation is a very literal one. La Place, on the other hand, one of the foremost translators of eighteenth-century plays and novels, is notorious for never faithfully following his original but adapting his English sources to French tastes in almost every instance.⁶ Here is a sample parallel passage to show how dogged the translation is:

³ (Piece trouvée dans les Papiers de Mlle***. Auteur de la Cécile. A Londres, et se vend, A Paris, chez Rollin, Libraire, Quay des Augustins, 1752). The only reference which recognizes the fact that these two works have a connection, but which makes no decision as to which way it works, is made by James R. Foster in *The History of the Pre-Romantic Novel in England* (New York, 1949), p. 40, where Mr. Foster is aware of the French title and says: "*Laideur Aimable* seems to be his [La Place's] own although it is commonly attributed to Sarah Scott, who wrote an *Agreeable Ugliness* in 1754." See also Lillian Cobb, *Pierre-Antoine de La Place, sa Vie et son Oeuvre (1707-1793)* (Paris, 1928), who includes *Laideur Aimable* as one of his three original compositions.

⁴ Reproduced by kind permission of Mr. H. C. Schulz of The Huntington Library, HM Letter MO 5238 (Jan. ?), 1754.

⁵ (Comédie en deux actes, par M. de La Place. Paris, S. Jorry, 1772). See L. Cobb, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70, and H. W. Streeter, *The Eighteenth Century English Novel in French Translation* (New York, 1936), p. 26, who finds that the duty of the French translator was "to curb, through a process of adaptation, the Englishman's magnificent but exaggerated and dangerous energy."

Mesdames,

C'est à vous, mes tristes Compagnes, vous à qui la nature a refusé comme à moi, ce qu'on estime être le plus précieux & le seul avantage de notre sexe, c'est à vous, dis-je, que je consacre cet ouvrage.

Selon le stile ordinaire des Epitres dédicatrices, je devrois faire ici votre éloge & celui de la Laideur, mais trouvés bon que je vous renvoie à l'Epitre aux Graces: Je ne veux point que l'on m'accuse d'avoir sollicité basement votre protection ni vos bienfaits: je suis d'ailleurs trop convaincue que je chercherois en vain à captiver votre bienveillance. Il n'y a pas une seule de vous Mes Dames, qui osât avouer publiquement, ni peut-être s'avouer à elle-même, qu'elle doive prendre part à mon offrande, & puisque je ne puis compter sur aucune reconnaissance de votre part: vous ne devez point attendre de compliment de la mienne.

Sarah Scott's version runs:

Ladies,

It is to You, my melancholy Companions, You to whom as well as to myself, churlish Nature has denied what is esteemed the most valuable, if not the only Advantage of our Sex; to You, I say, I consecrate this Work.

According to the usual Stile of Dedications, I ought to begin my Compliments to You, with a panegyric on Ugliness; but let me refer You to the Epistle to the Graces. I would not be accused of meanly soliciting your Favor, and Protection. I am likewise too well convinced, that I should vainly endeavor to obtain Your Approbation. There is not one among You, my dear ladies, that has Courage to confess publicly, or perhaps even to own to herself, that she ought to appropriate any Part of my Offering; and since I cannot hope for any Gratitude, You should not expect any Compliments.⁷

The literalness of the translation is sustained throughout, which corroborates Sarah Scott's statement further in the letter quoted above that she did the job quickly and fluently. The work appeared anonymously, and even Dodsley, the publisher, could "have no guess at the translator."⁸ Her secret was well kept.

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⁷ Respectively from La Place's "Epitre aux Laides" and Sarah Scott's "Dedication."

⁸ *Op. cit.*, HM Letter MO 5238.

Arnold's Oxford Lectures on Poetry

On the basis of the "University Intelligence" in *The Times*, the late Professor E. K. Brown a few years ago published a list, "doubtless still incomplete," of Arnold's Oxford lectures as Professor of Poetry.¹ The only record at Oxford of university lectures and exercises during the period of Arnold's professorship is a series of huge folio scrapbooks into which all sorts of printed official notices have been pasted in somewhat chronological order and clearly with no pretence of completeness.² An examination of these notices, a re-examination of *The Times*, and a search in the "University Intelligence" of two weekly county newspapers, *The Oxford University Herald: City and County Advertiser* and the *Oxford Chronicle & Berks & Bucks Gazette*, are the basis of the following list of Arnold's lectures, which in part corrects and presumably completes Professor Brown's list. It should be noted that, especially when some time elapsed between the delivery and publication, the published form of these lectures may differ considerably from what the Oxford audience heard. None of them were reported in the newspapers after they were given.

Saturday, November 14, 1857. Inaugural Lecture (in the English Language). (No subject was announced. The lecture was "On the Modern Element in Literature," an essay published in *Macmillan's Magazine*, February 1869).

Saturday, May 8, 1858. No subject announced (but presumably a continuation of the inaugural series).

Saturday, May 29, 1858. A continuation of the "Introductory Course of Lectures on the Modern Element in Literature."

Saturday, December 4, 1858. A continuation of the same.

Saturday, March 12, 1859. A continuation of the same.

Saturday, May 19, 1860. "The Professor of Poetry will resume his Introductory Course of Lectures upon the Modern Element in Literature."

Saturday, November 3, 1860. "On Translating Homer." (This and the two succeeding lectures were published in book form in 1861.)

Saturday, December 8, 1860. "A second lecture on Translating Homer."

¹ E. K. Brown, *Matthew Arnold. A Study in Conflict* (Chicago, 1948), pp. 197-199. Brown also cites the allusions to these lectures in Arnold's published correspondence. E. K. Chambers' account of Arnold's Oxford lectures (*Matthew Arnold. A Study* [Oxford, 1947], pp. 66-79) is unreliable. Marion Mainwaring's list ("Notes toward a Matthew Arnold Bibliography," *Modern Philology*, XLIX [1952], 192-193) depends entirely upon *The Times* and errs in the date of the final lecture.

² The relevant volumes are Bodleian Library, Gough Add. Oxon. a. 15-17.

Saturday, January 26, 1861. "A third and last Lecture *On Translating Homer*."

Saturday, June 8, 1861. "The Claim of the Celtic Race, and the Claim of the Christian Religion, to have originated Chivalrous Sentiment," a continuation of the course on "The Modern Element in Literature."

Saturday, November 30, 1861. "A fourth Lecture *On Translating Homer*." (Published separately as *On Translating Homer. Last Words. A Lecture* in 1862, and added to the subsequent editions of the three earlier lectures on the subject.)

Saturday, March 29, 1862. "The Modern Element in *Dante*," a continuation of the course on "The Modern Element in Literature." (Partially published as "Dante and Beatrice" in *Fraser's Magazine*, May 1863.)

Saturday, November 15, 1862. "A Modern French Poet." (Presumably "Maurice de Guérin," published in *Fraser's Magazine*, January 1863.)

Thursday, March 26, 1863. "The Modern Element in Romanticism."

Saturday, June 13, 1863. "Heinrich Heine." (Published in *Cornhill Magazine*, August 1863.)

Saturday, November 28, 1863. "A French Coleridge." (Published as "Joubert; or, a French Coleridge" in the *National Review*, January 1864.)

Saturday, March 5, 1864. "Pagan and Christian Religious Sentiment." (Published, but with the omission of "a good deal about Protestantism,"³ in *Cornhill Magazine*, April 1864, and under the title "Pagan and Mediaeval Religious Sentiment" in *Essays in Criticism*, 1865.)

Saturday, June 4, 1864. "The Influence of Academies on National Spirit and Literature." (Published as "The Literary Influence of Academies" in *Cornhill Magazine*, August 1864.)

Saturday, October 29, 1864. "The Functions of Criticism at the Present Time." (Published in the *National Review*, November 1864.)

(*The Times* on March 23, 1865, announced that "the lecture of the Professor of Poetry is put off till next Term.")

Wednesday and Thursday, December 6-7, 1865. "The Study of Celtic Literature." (These and the two succeeding lectures were published in *Cornhill Magazine*, March, April, May and July 1866, and as a book in 1867.)

Saturday, February 24, 1866. "A third and last Lecture on *The Study of Celtic Literature*."

Saturday, May 26, 1866. "The Celtic Element in English Poetry."

(An official notice dated November 15, 1866, announced merely that "The Lecture of the Professor of Poetry is postponed.")

Friday, June 7, 1867 (postponed from June 1 and again from June 4). "Culture and its Enemies." (Published in *Cornhill Magazine*, July 1867.)

The first three lectures were delivered at the Clarendon Building, the rest in the Taylor Institution, all at two o'clock in the afternoon. Arnold was normally expected to give three lectures a year, and at least once was fined for his failure.⁴

³ M. Arnold, *Letters*, ed. G. W. E. Russell (London, 1895), I, 229.

⁴ Chambers, *Matthew Arnold*, pp. 66, 78; Arnold, *Letters*, I, 303 (letter of September 30, 1865).

In addition to his lectures on Poetry, the Professor of Poetry was obliged in alternate years to deliver in Latin at the annual Encaenia the Crewian Oration in commemoration of the founders and benefactors of the university. The task fell to Arnold on June 16, 1858; June 20, 1860; July 2, 1862; June 8, 1864; and June 13, 1866. At least two of Arnold's orations were printed separately as pamphlets⁵ and a few sentences from another, referring to the residence of the Prince of Wales in Oxford, were printed in *The Oxford University Herald* for June 23, 1860. That for 1866 was described by *The Times* on June 14 as "short and to the point, containing a touching eulogy of the late John Keble, a former Poetry Professor." Noise and disturbance from the undergraduates were the order of the day on these occasions, however, and Arnold's words were seldom heard above the uproar.

Arnold was elected Professor of Poetry at a Convocation on Tuesday, May 5, 1857, which (according to *The Oxford University Herald*) "attracted large numbers of non-residents." The polling "was carried on with great spirit to the close," lasted nearly three hours, and gave Arnold 363 votes to 278 for the Rev. J. E. Bode.⁶ He succeeded another Old Rugbeian, Thomas Legh Cloughton. His re-election for a second five-year term at a Convocation on Thursday, June 5, 1862, apparently was not contested. As his second term drew to a close, rumors were published in the newspapers that Ruskin would be a candidate for the chair, but the actual contest at the Convocation on Thursday, June 20, 1867, was a three-way affair in which Ruskin's name was not entered; it was won by Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, and the total vote was somewhat larger than it had been when Arnold was elected.

⁵One of these pamphlets, for 1862, is recorded in T. B. Smart's bibliography, in M. Arnold, *Complete Works* (London, 1903-4), xv, 357. The other (which, like the preceding, may be found in the Bodleian Library) has the following title-page:

Oratio Anniversaria / in Memoriam / Publicorum Benefactorum / Academiae Oxoniensis; / ex Instituto / Honoratissimi Domini et Patris admodum Reverendi, / Nathanielis Domini Crewe, / olim Baronis de Stene, et Episcopi Dunelmensis; / habita / in Theatro Sheldoniano / XVI Kalendas Julii, A. D. MDCCCLVIII. / a Matthaeo Arnold, A.M., / e Coll. Oriel. / Poeticae Praelectore. / [orn.: arms of the University] / Oxonii: T. et G. Shrimpton. / MDCCCLVIII.

There are nine pages: a title-page (with blank reverse) and the Oration on pp. 3-9.

⁶Kenneth Allott has recently printed a letter from Arnold to the Rev. William Henry Lucas appealing for his vote against Bode, and has described Bode's poetic attainments ("Matthew Arnold: Two Unpublished Letters," *Notes & Queries*, cc [1955], 356).

The stipend of the Professorship of Poetry when Arnold took office was about £ 125 annually, in addition to £ 20 annually from the benefaction of Nathaniel Lord Crewe. As the time approached for the election of Arnold's successor, the basic stipend was reduced to £ 80. The statute which effected this reduction contained other provisions that were much debated in Congregation in the spring of 1867, but the newspapers do not make clear what the debates were about. One proposal, which may or may not have been incorporated in the statute, was aimed at Arnold himself—that he be fined £ 10 if he should fail to give his terminal lecture.

Three years after the expiration of his second term, on June 21, 1870, Arnold was made an Honorary D. C. L. by his university, and on June 13, 1883, an Honorary Doctor of Law at Cambridge.

University of Michigan

R. H. SUPER

A Dramatic Device in *Faust* and *The Importance of Being Earnest*

The second act of Oscar Wilde's comedy unfolds in the "Garden at the Manor House." First Miss Prism, the foolish and muddle-headed elderly governess, and Cecily are alone. Their conversation soon turns to "Uncle Jack," the fictitious good-for-nothing, for whom young Cecily feels a romantic attachment from a distance. They are joined by a visitor, Canon Chasuble, who sets Miss Prism quite aflutter. The elderly pair then disappear into the garden.

No sooner are they gone than Algernon, in the adopted role of Uncle Jack, appears, and we witness a sophisticated flirtation between the young pair. They, too, leave the scene, and from the garden Miss Prism and Canon Chasuble emerge. From Miss Prism's opening remark—"You are too much alone, dear Dr. Chasuble"—it can be clearly guessed what their conversation is leading up to. Miss Prism tries to convince her evasive partner that the state of celibacy holds many dangers. With every word she becomes a more comical figure.

The mechanism of these four scenes strikingly recalls the scenes from *Faust I* of Marthe's house and Marthe's garden. Margarete, Marthe and the visitor Mephisto prepare the charming garden scene

in which the young and the old pair alternately emerge and disappear exploring their nascent love in a different key, the young ones tenderly, the old ones comically, Marthe's opening lines being: "Und ihr, mein Herr, ihr reist so immer fort?" Mephisto allows her to become more and more urgent in her warnings against the bachelor's lot.

Oscar Wilde was not remarkable for his invention of new forms. In his comedies he subtly filled the standard forms with a frankly factitious substance. It is interesting to see how he can take over the external fabric of so different a work as *Faust* hardly changing anything and yet completely altering tone and purpose of the dialogue.

The question whether Wilde knew Goethe's *Faust* need hardly be raised for one so well-educated as Wilde. One may note, however, that in a letter from prison, to Robert Ross, April 6, 1897, he asked to be given a few books: "You know the sort of books I want: Flaubert, Stevenson, Baudelaire, Maeterlinck, Dumas père, Keats, Marlowe, Chatterton, Coleridge, Anatole France, Gautier, Dante and all Dante literature; Goethe and Goethe literature, and so on."

University of Wisconsin

WERNER VORDTRIEDE

Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium"

The numerous analyses of Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium" seem to fall into two main groups: a minority of critics feel as does John Crowe Ransom that the poem is "more magical than religious . . . and its magnificence a little bit forced"¹; the great majority, however, praise it highly for its perfect structure and its magnificent exaltation of art. Typical of this second group are Louis MacNeice, who says: "Yeats is still, though reluctantly, asserting the supremacy of art, art, as always for him, having a supernatural sanction"²; and Kenneth Burke, who says: "there is in Yeats an intensification of Keats's vision of immortalization, not as a *person*, but by conversion into a fabricated *thing*. It is not a religious immortality that is cele-

¹ "The Irish, the Gaelic, the Byzantine," *The Southern Review*, VII (1941-1942), 522.

² *The Poetry of W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1941), p. 139.

brated here, but an aesthetic one."³ I believe that both these groups have misinterpreted the poem, and will attempt to establish this judgment by an analysis which needs to be introduced by briefly recalling Yeats's intellectual biography up to the time of his writing this poem.

Although for a short time in the late 1890's Yeats believed in Art for Art's sake of the English variety and was influenced by French Symbolism, he soon decided that the emphasis in such a religion of art was a fundamental distortion of the vital relation that had existed between religion and art in the past, and in an important essay entitled "The Symbolism of Poetry" (1900) called for "a return to the way of our fathers . . . a return to imagination"⁴ that would restore art to its proper function as "the garment of religion."⁵ "How," he says,

can the arts overcome the slow dying of men's hearts that we call the progress of the world, and lay their hands upon men's heart-strings again, without becoming the garment of religion as in old times?⁶

This conviction, expressed frequently in his prose volume entitled *Ideas of Good and Evil* (included in *Essays*; cf. Footnote 4) and elsewhere, never left Yeats. As C. M. Bowra has said in explaining the difference between Yeats and Mallarmé:

Yeats does not regard poetry as complete in itself, with its own ritual and meaning. He sees it as part of a larger experience, as a means of communication with the spiritual world which lies behind the visible. For him the poet is almost a medium, and interpreter of the unseen, and his poetry is the record of the revelations given to him.⁷

The point of all this is that, except for a brief devotion to a religion of art in his youth, Yeats always, whatever the ingredients of his theology, kept art as "the garment of religion as in old times," so that to speak of the immortality referred to in "Sailing to Byzantium" as "not a religious immortality . . . but an aesthetic one" is contrary to all that we know of his expressed beliefs.

Yeats's own private religion, after his early rejection of Christianity, was indeed a hodgepodge, containing at various times elements from Irish folklore, Blake's system, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and

³ "On Motivation in Yeats," *The Southern Review*, VII (1941-1942), 558.

⁴ *Essays* (New York, 1924), pp. 200, 201.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 200.

⁶ *Idem.*

⁷ *The Heritage of Symbolism* (London, 1943), p. 185.

(especially in his later years) the culture of the Byzantine Empire about the time of Justinian I. In spite of his rejection of Christianity, there are a few poems in his later years, like "A Prayer for My Son,"⁸ that are definitely Christian, and he always admitted that he shared with Christians the belief, for example, in the miraculous immortality of their sainted dead. In "Vacillation" he says:

Must we part, Von Hügel, though much alike, for we
Accept the miracles of the saints and honour sanctity?
The body of Saint Teresa lies undecayed in tomb,
Bathed in miraculous oil, sweet odours from it come,
Healing from its lettered slab.⁹

Yeats's specific attitude toward Byzantium that is most relevant to the poem "Sailing to Byzantium" is expressed in *A Vision*. Why does he say, "I think if I could be given a month in antiquity and leave to spend it where I chose, I would spend it in Byzantium a little before Justinian opened St. Sophia and closed the Academy of Plato"?¹⁰ He answers in the next sentence: "I think I could find in some little wine shop some philosophical worker in mosaic who could answer all my questions, the supernatural descending nearer to him than to Plotinus even."¹¹ The spirit of this early age—one of nearness to the supernatural (which Yeats would recover in "Sailing to Byzantium")—is not that of the artist creating his religion—making his own "artifice of eternity." On the contrary, says Yeats, the artists of that happy time "were almost impersonal, almost perhaps without the consciousness of individual design, absorbed in their subject matter and that the vision of a whole people . . . and this vision, this proclamation of *their invisible master* [*italics mine*], had the Greek nobility."¹² Yeats similarly in the humility of his religious attitude in this poem prays from his weakness as "a dying animal" that the messengers from "God's holy fire" may "gather me/ Into the artifice of eternity."

But let us consider in more detail the arguments of the critics. What about the group who find "magic" predominant in the poem? Elder Olson contends that in the last two stanzas the monuments become "insouled" and the art animate: the monuments, he says,

⁸ *The Collected Poems of W. B. Yeats* (New York, 1951), pp. 209-210.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

¹⁰ *A Vision* (Second edition, London, 1937), p. 279.

¹¹ *Idem.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 280.

"are treated as gods which can be prayed to for life or death, as beings capable of motion from sphere to sphere"¹³; and Arthur Mizener says that "Yeats for a moment asks us to fancy the figures stepping [from the gold mosaic] as his singing masters."¹⁴ But the poem does not say this: the appeal is no more to the works of art or to the artists than the prayer of the Roman Catholic is to the statues of the saints, or the sculptors of the statues, before which he kneels. The appeal of the Roman Catholic is to the saints, whose lives on earth are commemorated, and whose present spiritual existence in the other world is represented, by the monuments. Such is the poet's attitude toward the "sages" in "Sailing to Byzantium." He does not say, "Come from the gold mosaic." He says:

O sages standing in God's holy fire
As [italics mine] in the gold mosaic of a wall,
Come from the holy fire. . . .

The sages are to come from the holy fire, not from the gold mosaic, which, like the statues of saints for the Catholic, is merely the visible representation of the sages and the holy fire. If Yeats meant that the art might actually become animate, he would be little more than an idolater, or, even if he meant it only as a metaphor, it would be on about the same intellectual level as a fairy tale for children. Of course, from a strictly rationalist standpoint, coming from the holy fire would be crude magic, but this symbol for a mystical, spiritual contact with the holy dead has considerable religious sanction and therefore a certain degree at least of intellectual dignity.

We revert to the fairy tale magic, however, if we interpret the last verse of the poem as does John Crowe Ransom, who says of the poet: "In Byzantium, in his next life, he will be a mechanical bird made of gold."¹⁵ But the poet does not say this. He says:

Once out of nature I shall never take
My bodily form from any natural thing,
But such a form as [italics mine] Grecian goldsmiths make . . .
To keep a drowsy Emperor awake.

Yeats was faced, as Dante had been in the *Paradiso*, with the exceedingly difficult task of conveying the idea of immortality in a con-

¹³ "An Outline of Poetic Theory," *Critiques and Essays in Criticism*, ed. R. W. Stallman (New York, 1949), p. 285.

¹⁴ "The Romanticism of W. B. Yeats," *The Southern Review*, VII (1941-1942), 616.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 520.

crete, poetic form. Dante chose, among other figures, the figure of the Rose; but Yeats's short poem had already emphasized the swift decay and death of everything natural, "Whatever is begotten, born, and dies." Therefore—and here again is the answer to the group of critics who maintain that this is primarily an aesthetic and not a religious immortality—to what that is concrete but not natural could he turn except to art for a symbol of immortality? And it is only a symbol, specifically a simile, in the poem ("such a form as . . ."). What, then, are the similarities between his immortal life and the mechanical bird that make the simile appropriate? The bird in the Emperor's palace that Yeats had read about was beautiful in appearance, enduring and precious (made of gold), and capable of singing songs that were both beautiful and full of wisdom, not "sensual music," but singing

To lords and ladies of Byzantium
Of what is past, or passing, or to come.

These characteristics, he no doubt felt, make this figure an appropriate one to express in concrete form the joys of immortality—especially appropriate since such mechanical birds actually existed in the historical Byzantium, of which he said in *A Vision*: "I think that in early Byzantium, maybe never before or since in recorded history, religious, aesthetic, and practical life were one."¹⁶ Starting from this remarkable historical city, Yeats made Byzantium his very unorthodox but devoutly religious version of the New Jerusalem, in which "holy city" the poet, the "dying animal," is primarily concerned, not with the art, but with the spiritual life visibly represented by the art.

University of Mississippi

HARRY MODEAN CAMPBELL

Hawthorne, Fanny Kemble, and "The Artist of the Beautiful"

Hawthorne came to know Frances Ann Kemble quite well during the days at Lenox in 1850, and in 1851 they corresponded. He had probably known of her *Journal* (2 vols.; Philadelphia, 1835) years

¹⁶ *A Vision*, p. 279.

before, for it had been reviewed in copies of the *North American Review*, the *Edinburgh Review*, and the *Gentleman's Magazine* which he had perused in 1836.¹

It may have been in 1840, when he was working in the Boston Customs House, that Hawthorne actually came to read Mrs. Kemble's book. Certainly this date fits well into what we know of the inception of his story "The Artist of the Beautiful," to which we wish to relate her *Journal*. In this year he jotted down two of the known "germs" of the story. And between September 1842 and May 1844, with April or May 1844 as the probable date of composition, he completed his tale.²

The two notes generally acknowledged as lying at the back of the writer's mind, at least, as he composed "The Artist of the Beautiful," are not necessarily related to her book:

To represent a man as spending life and the intensest labor in the accomplishment of some mechanical trifle,—as in making a miniature coach to be drawn by fleas, or a dinner service to be put in a cherrystone.

And a little later, as he watches the butterflies around a salt ship:

I cannot account for them, unless they are the lovely fantasies of the mind.

Of course Hawthorne may have read her autobiography during the intervening years. At all events, one paragraph of Mrs. Kemble's seems as likely a source for his tale as the two "germs" just quoted. Obviously all three may contribute. Here is Mrs. Kemble:

The first face I made out was Mr. ——'s, for whom I have taken an especial love: Two ladies, a whole load of men, and Mr. ——, who had brought me a curious piece of machinery, in the shape of a musical box, to look at. It contained a little bird, no larger than a large fly, with golden and purple wings, and a tiny white beak. On the box being wound up, this little creature flew out, and perching itself on the brink of a gold basin, began fluttering its wings, opening its beak, and uttering sundry very melodious warblings, in the midst of which—it sank suddenly down, and disappeared, the lid closed, and there was an end. What a pity 'tis that we can only realize fairyland through the means of machinery. One reason why there is no such thing left as the believing faculty among men, is because they have themselves learnt to make magic, and perform miracles.

¹ Marion Kesselring, *Hawthorne's Reading, 1828-1850* (New York, 1949). Of course as a popular travel account he may have read of it elsewhere.

² Elizabeth L. Chandler, *A Study of the Sources of the Tales and Romances Written by Nathaniel Hawthorne before 1853* (Northampton, Mass., 1926), p. 36.

Both words and ideas should be compared. The most obvious resemblance is that of Hawthorne's butterfly and its box and the bird and its housing. As Hawthorne's young artist, in the climactic scene, appears before the "disbelievers," he produces his "jewel box . . . carved richly out of ebony . . . and inlaid with a fanciful tracery of pearl."

This case of ebony the artist opened, and bade Annie place her finger on its edge. She did so, and almost screamed as a butterfly fluttered forth, and, alighting on her finger's tip, sat waving the ample magnificence of its purple and gold-speckled wings, as if in prelude to a flight.

The butterfly swoops in great arcs from one person to another, fading or glowing as the one to whom it attaches itself is sceptical of art and artistic values or *believes* in them—believes that the artist has created reality. It glows momentarily in the child's hand, though the child is too much the heir of his immediate progenitors to appreciate it fully. Finally, as down from the ceiling it floats towards the artist, he entices it toward the infant. Then "the little child of strength, with his grandsire's sharp and shrewd expression in his face, made a snatch at the marvellous insect and compressed it in his hand."

The inmates of the "World's" household,—grandfather, husband, and wife,—look at the artist with scornful pity. But he remains unperturbed as he gazes upon the glittering fragments of his life's labor.

He had caught a far other butterfly than this. When the artist rose high enough to achieve the beautiful, the symbol by which he made it perceptible to mortal senses became of little value in his eyes while his spirit possessed itself in the enjoyment of reality.

Mrs. Kemble regrets that "we can only realize fairyland through the means of machinery." What may be Hawthorne's sensitive twisting of her suggested phrase and idea to his own uses still gives evidence of the kinship of his idea with hers. Again and again Hawthorne mentions the putting of spirit into machines—realization of fairyland through machinery. This goes far beyond his 1840 jotting of the man spending his life making an intricate toy.

The artist, Owen Warland, is accused by the girl he imagines he loves, Annie Hovenden, of being taken up with this "mania":

In his idle and dreamy days he had considered it possible, in a certain sense, to spiritualize machinery, and to combine with the new species of life

and motion thus produced a beauty that should attain to the ideal which nature has proposed for itself, in all her creatures, but has never taken pains to realize.

Then, in one of the periods of discouragement and despair:

Poor . . . Owen . . . ! . . . He had lost his faith in the invisible. . . [He] trusted confidently in nothing but what his hand could touch.

As suggested above, the whole atmosphere surrounding the artist in the last scene is of doubt and mockery. Shrewd cynic Hovenden, hearty blacksmith Danforth, practical Annie, even the greedy yet occasionally sublime "child of strength" create this atmosphere. Mrs. Kemble speaks of the loss of the "believing faculty" because men themselves have learnt "to make magic and perform miracles." Hawthorne etherealizes, sensitizes, yet broadens the concept of what man has lost, and the reasons why the loss has occurred. Both writers are concerned with values. Particularly are they questioning the cost to man of his faith in and mastery over technology alone.

University of Tennessee

RICHARD BEALE DAVIS

James Lampton, Mark Twain's Model for Colonel Sellers

During the platform season of 1884-1885 Mark Twain and George W. Cable travelled together giving joint readings from their works. While they were in St. Louis to read on January 9 and 10, James Lampton called on Mark Twain at the Southern Hotel. This was Cousin James, the archetypal optimist who appeared as Colonel Sellers in *The Gilded Age* (1873). In a passage in his *Autobiography* dating from 1897 or 1898 Mark Twain wrote:

James Lampton floated, all his days, in a tinted mist of magnificent dreams, and died at last without seeing one of them realized. I saw him last in 1884. . . . He was become old and white-headed, but he entered to me in the same old breezy way of his earlier life, and he was all there yet—not a detail wanting; the happy light in his eye, the abounding hope in his heart, the persuasive tongue, the miracle-breeding imagination—they were all there; and before I could turn around he was polishing up his Alladin's lamp and flashing the secret riches of the world before me. I said to myself: "I did

not overdraw him by a shade, I set him down as he was; and he is the same man to-day. Cable will recognize him."¹

Mark Twain's recollection was that he then opened the door to the adjoining room so that Cable could hear and that after Lampton had told of a "small venture" with his son which would yield two or three millions, and had departed, Cable put his head in at the door and said, "That was Colonel Sellers."

Among Cable's papers is a partial record of Lampton's side of the conversation in Mark's room.² It is a manuscript written in pencil on Southern Hotel stationery and preserved in an envelope on which Cable wrote, "Mem. made at the time, of a meeting in St. Louis with Mark Twain's original of Co/l Sellers." At first Cable wrote in a large scrawl, as he hurried to keep up, and then in his normal handwriting, for he was called in to meet Lampton and of course could write out the subsequent conversation only as he recalled it after the visitor had left. Mark Twain remembered the year as 1884 instead of 1885, and his account no doubt must be corrected by Cable's statement that he entered the room while Lampton was there; yet the two reports agree in the essential facts, and Cable's record, printed below, thus supports Mark Twain's assertion that in drawing Colonel Sellers he merely copied James Lampton life size.

Lord, Lord, Sam, *what* a shame to come in & disturb such a man as you air sich a time as this. You know we watched the papers to see when you was a-comin and I was walkin by the Cleve Hotel & so I just dropped in—I know the clerk very well—and said—is Mr. Sam/l Clemens—Mark Twain in? & he said, No, Major Lampton, he's at the Southern. But I'll not infringe on your time—Lord Sam—*well Sam* how air you!

My poor wife—she—have you got nice bright children?

But, eh?—

Well, now—how long y-goin t'stay—Easiest way in the wo-o-rld to come down.

Well *bring* Mr Cable *with* you! We'd like the best in the world.—

M. T. Cable! come here.

[Enter Cable] Old man with long grey pointed beard & mustache & simple, childish face, etc leaps to his feet thrusts out his hands smiles for a yard around & cries.

"Introduce quick! *Mister* Cable I'm glad to see you! I'm ever so glad to know you!—Ha, ha, ha!"

C. "Co/l Lampton, is it?"

¹ *Mark Twain's Autobiography*, ed. Albert B. Paine (New York, 1924), I, 91-92.

² In the Cable Collection at Tulane University; printed here with the permission of the librarian, Dr. Garland C. Taylor.

L. "Eh! Ha, ha, ha! Not quite! Ah, ha, ha! Major! or judge, or doctor. Major they *calls* me, because we-e-ell I'm a Kentuckian, you know—Corn stalk militia, ah, ha, ha, ha, ha!

[Sudden seriousness]

Judge—I have a right to—& doctor—ah, ha, ha, ha! I don't know, ah, why.

Well, Mr. Cable I want you to come down with Cousin Sa-a-am & see my daughters. They're school-ma'ams, you know, self-sustaining institutions—women air, you know, ah, ha, ha, ha! And if you'll come down to our very plain little place—you're a southern man & used to rusticity—I'll take you down to the edge of my pond surrounded by willows &—gold fish in it that long, Cousin Sam. And I've got—you know—I've got a brewery! Pipes leading to the house. Just turn on the fasset. Ah, ha, ha, ha!

Wa-a-all now, I'll tell you—you must come out!

Several long yarns consuming

Well Mr. Cable (confidential stage whisper) This is a Kentuckian's 2 minutes—ah, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha!! Well—(another long yarn) Sam did you see my Cousin Henry Watterson?³ *Isn't he* a broth of a boy? Ah, ha, ha, ha!—Well good bye—God bless you!

Duke University

ARLIN TURNER

Wolfe's Use of *Iliad* I. 49

One of the most interesting uses of classical quotation in a modern American novel is Thomas Wolfe's Anglicized transcription of Homer's line 49 from the first book of the *Iliad*, which occurs at the beginning of the final paragraph of chapter XXVIII in *Look Homeward Angel*.¹ The line Wolfe transcribes "Dwaney de clangay genett, argereoyo beeyoy" is perhaps slightly garbled in transmission (e. g., a necessary apostrophe after *genett*, indicating the elision, is carelessly omitted; moreover the double *-t* is an idiosyncrasy) either through some fault of Wolfe's or the whimsicality of the typesetter. Perhaps Wolfe transcribed it as he thought Edward Pettigrew "Buck" Benson would have, certainly as he thought the Greek professor would have pro-

³ Henry Watterson was the well-known editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and the author of *Oddities in Southern Life and Character* (1882). During their readings in Louisville, January 5 and 6, Mark Twain and Cable had dined with Watterson and spent considerable time in his company. These activities are recounted in letters Cable wrote to his wife, Jan. 6 and 7, 1885 (MSS in possession of Mrs. L. L. C. Biklé).

¹ I do not believe the line has previously been identified.

nounced it, though there is nothing in the description of this professor to suggest that he was anything but the most meticulous of scholars.

Of far more interest is the fact that for Eugene Gant this is supposed to be one of those Greek lines "which remained most vividly, later, in the drowning years which cover so much of beauty . . . the vast sea-surge of Homer which beat in his brain, his blood, his pulses."² In later years Eugene remembered it "above the whistle's shriek, the harsh scream of the wheel, the riveter's tattoo."³ As Wolfe states, "What dissonance can quench it? What jangling violence can disturb or conquer it?"⁴ In fact Homer's line (δεινὴ δὲ χαλγὴ γέεν' ἀργυρέοιο βιοῖο), though it does have something of Homer's majestic, timeless roll, is one of the poet's characteristic, onomatopoeic lines in which the word χαλγὴ is distinctly echoic. Literally "And there was a terrible clanging of the silver bow" when Phoebus Apollo descended from Olympus to answer the prayer of Chryses, whose attempt to ransom his daughter had been disdained by Agamemnon. Though there is of course some suggestion of permanence in the fact that the god's revenge on the Greeks with arrows from the silver bow (the attack lasted for nine days) was accomplished by a god, Homer obviously wished to suggest a time of great stress, jangling violence, dissonance in the nature of the sounds themselves—exactly the opposite of what Wolfe claimed appealed in later years to Eugene Gant. It is possible that much of Wolfe's Greek had slipped away from him by the time he wrote *Look Homeward Angel* and that he simply used the first line that came to his memory. On the other hand he should have remembered the echoic word (*clanging*) since it is used several times near the beginning of the *Iliad*. That he was perpetrating an intellectual joke on his less educated readers does not seem likely in view of the high seriousness of the passage. Perhaps the surge of Homeric hexameters was not quite so vivid for Wolfe, later, as it was for Eugene Gant.

University of Kentucky

ROBERT O. EVANS

² From the penultimate paragraph in Chapter XXVIII.

³ From the final paragraph in Chapter XXVIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Spell (= "Rest") : An English Survival

In his article on "The Semantic Development of SPELL (= "REST")" (*MLN*, LXX [1955]), Ian A. Gordon claims that *spell* formerly had the sense of "rest" in England and points out that its modern use with this meaning in Australasia is not a slangy innovation, but a survival from Middle English usage. He states, however, that "some time in the nineteenth century the usage of *spell* as 'rest' disappeared from England."¹ Although Joseph Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* lists this sense as unknown to his correspondents, it must presumably have been in existence at the time of the survey, for it is still extant in the regional speech of the county of Durham, where it is ambivalent, having the meanings of both "work" and "rest." Myself a native of north Durham, I remember being surprised some years ago on reading that *spell* for "rest" was a characteristic of the normal usage of Australia and New Zealand, for I had not until then realised that this was not a standard English idiom. The same meanings apply in south Durham, according to Harold Orton (likewise a native of the county) in his *Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (1933), paragraph 55, where he states that in the Byers Green dialect *spell* is "a turn of work or rest."

Mr. Gordon's theory that the Australasian sense of *spell* is a continuation of the original English usage thus receives further confirmation from the modern Durham dialect.

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BRIAN FOSTER

The Naming of Rodomont

When Boiardo invented the name of Rodamonte for his valiant and boastful Saracen hero, he may well have been greatly pleased, but he cannot possibly have imagined the extraordinary fortune that it was destined to have. For through the slightly modified form given to it by Ariosto it has entered into several languages as a common noun, or in derivatives therefrom: into Italian as *rodomonte*, *rodo-*

¹ Page 7. So far as the *English Dialect Dictionary* is concerned, it is possible that Wright confined his enquiries about this word to Somerset and Yorkshire.

montata, rodomonteria, and rodomontesco; into French as *rodomont* and *rodomontade*; into Dutch as *rodomontade*; into German as *rodomont*, *rodomontade*, *rodomontadisch*, and *rodomontieren*; and into English as *rodomont* (variously spelled), *rodomontade* (variously spelled), *rodomontader*, *rodomontadist*, and *rodomontado*. It would seem, therefore, that interest might well be revived in the now generally forgotten tradition as to the circumstances of Boiardo's invention of the name—a tradition that is indeed very possibly in accordance with the facts of the case.

Boiardo was Count of Scandiano, a small feudal domain at the foot of the Apennines, a few miles west of Reggio; and he lived there for the greater part of his life.

The tradition as to his naming of Rodomont was first reported by the renowned early 18th-century naturalist, Antonio Vallisnieri, himself a Scandianese, who was a man of historical and literary as well as scientific interests.¹ His report appears in the course of an interesting and well-written study entitled "Memorie, e iscrizioni sepolcrali Del Co: Matteo Maria Bojardi, E della sua casa in Scandiano, Con altre notizie spettanti al medesimo, e all'accennato illustre Castello. Vera patria di *Prospero Marziano*. Due Lapidie antiche scoperte," published in the *Raccolta d'opuscoli scientifici, e filologici* (sometimes referred to as the *Raccolta Calogerana*),² and is as follows:

Qul s'ha per tradizione, che essendo un giorno alla caccia nel bosco detto del *Fracasso*, di qul mille passi lontano, gli venne all'improvviso in mente il nome strepitoso di *Rodomonte*, che tempo fa baluuccando indarno cercava, del quale tanto se ne compiacque, che subito salito a cavallo corse a briglia sciolta a Scandiano, e tutte le campane fece sonare, stupente il popolo, nè mai a una tal cosa pensante.³

Vallisnieri's report is paraphrased thus by Mazzuchelli:

Anzi si vuole per tradizione, ch'essendo un giorno alla caccia nel bosco detto del *Fracasso*, mille passi lontano da Scandiano, in tempo che andava

¹ For a general statement about Vallisnieri (whose name is given also as Vallisneri) see Giulio Natali, *Il settecento*, 2d ed., I (Milan, 1944), pp. 197-198 and (for bibliography) 243. Natali refers to Vallisnieri at several other points, for which see his index. For a more detailed statement see Girolamo Tiraboschi, *Biblioteca modenese, o notizie della vita e delle opere degli scrittori nati degli stati del serenissimo signor Duca di Modena*, v (Modena, 1784), pp. 322-336.

² III (1730), 351-376. Reprinted in Vallisnieri's *Opere fisico-mediche*, III (Venice, 1733), 235-239.

³ Pp. 366-367 in the 1730 volume; p. 237 in the 1733 volume. Vallisnieri's study has the form of a letter addressed "All'Illustrissimo Signor Abate Girolamo Co. Lioni." See also the following note.

pur cercando qual nome strepitoso imporre potesse ad un valente Eroe del suo Poema, gli venisse improvvisamente in mente quello di *Rodomonte*, e di ciò tale compiacenza sentisse, che, salito subito a cavallo, corresse a briglia sciolta a Scandiano, e facesse suonare tutte le campane con sorpresa di quel popolo, che non mai una tal cagione poteva immaginarsi.⁴

Mazzuchelli's form of the report, beginning with "essendo," is quoted verbatim by Tiraboschi, who introduces it thus: "Io non so però qual fede si meriti la tradizione riferita dal Vallisnieri, e poi dal C. Mazzuchelli, che *essendo*. . . ."⁵

The last reference to the tradition known to me occurs in Leigh Hunt's essay on "The Life and Genius of Boiardo," in his *Stories from the Italian Poets*,⁶ in this passage:

There is said to have been a tradition at Scandiano, that having tried in vain one day, as he was riding out, to discover a name for one of his heroes, expressive of his lofty character, and the word *Rodamonte* coming into his head, he galloped back with a pleasant ostentation to his castle, crying it out aloud, and ordering the bells of the place to be rung in its honour; to the astonishment of the good people, who took "Rodamonte" for some newly-discovered saint.

Hunt does not indicate the source from which he derived the story; but his general note as to the sources on which he has drawn for his essay begins thus:

The materials for the biography in this notice have been gathered from Tiraboschi and others, but more immediately from the copious critical memoir from the pen of Mr. Panizzi, in that gentleman's admirable edition of the combined poems of Boiardo and Ariosto.⁷

I owe my own acquaintance with the tradition to Professor Hyder E. Rollins, who called my attention to this curious passage in a letter written by Keats to Miss Jeffrey on June 9, 1819:

⁴ Giammaria Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, II, Part III (Brescia, 1753), p. 1438. In a footnote to this passage Mazzuchelli refers both to Vallisnieri's "Memorie" and to a *Lettera seconda di Prodromo Giordano Filalete*, p. 43. I have not been able to locate this letter. Prodromo Giordano Filalete was obviously Vallisnieri's name in Arcadia.

⁵ Tiraboschi, *op. cit.*, I (Modena, 1781), p. 302.

⁶ II (London, 1846), p. 14.

⁷ There is no reference to the tradition in Panizzi's memoir (in his edition of the *Orlando innamorato* and the *Orlando furioso*, II (London, 1830), pp. i-cliv, or in Foscolo's article, "Narrative and Romantic Poems of the Italians," *The Quarterly Review*, XXI (1819), 486-556, or in Tiraboschi's *Storia della letteratura italiana*. Nor is it referred to in Giulio Reichenbach's *Matteo Maria Boiardo* (Bologna, 1929).

One of the great reasons that the English have produced the finest writers in the world is, that the English world has so ill-treated them during their lives and foster'd them after their deaths. They have in general been trampled aside into the bye paths of life and seen the festerings of Society. They have not been treated like the Raphaels of Italy. And where is the Englishman and Poet who has given a magnificent Entertainment at the christening of one of his Hero's Horses as Boyardo did? He had a Castle in the Appenine. He was a noble Poet of Romance, not a miserable and mighty Poet of the human Heart.*

The distortion of the story in this version indicates that Keats had heard it orally. The chances would seem to be that he had heard it from Leigh Hunt; but he might have heard it from W. S. Rose or from T. J. Mathias or from some other English man of letters interested in Italian literature.

That Vallisnieri actually heard the story in Scandiano and that he reported it faithfully as he had heard it there can be no doubt. That the story itself is true seems to me very probable. It is perfectly in keeping with what we know of Boiardo. Nor does one see how such a story could have arisen without foundation.

Scandiano is just at the foot of the Apennines: one might guess that the name came to Boiardo as he saw and heard a torrent gnawing its path down the mountainside. In any case, the bells of Scandiano might well have rung to celebrate so fortunate an invention!

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ERNEST H. WILKINS

Addenda to Praz, *Bibliography of Emblem Books*

Since our review of Professor Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Vol. II, *A Bibliography of Emblem Books* (MLN, LXIV [1949], 203-204),¹ a number of omissions have come to our attention which we should like to list here:

P. 13: Arias Montanus, Benedictus. *Humanae Salutis Monumenta* . . . ; Spanish translation: *Monumentos sagrados de la edad del hombre*, Valencia, Montfort, 1784. (Palau, *Manual*, 2nd ed., I, 474, however, dates this book 1774).

* *The Letters of John Keats*, ed. M. Buxton Forman, (4th ed.; London, 1952), pp. 345-346.

¹ Other supplements have been published by H. L. Gumpert and Mario Praz in *Folium*, I (1951), 12-14, 102-104, 145-147.

Idem. *David virtutis* . . . : another ed.: Amsterdam, 1611.

Cassasús y Navia, Joseph de [Tomás Serrano]. *Viaje del parnaso y descubrimientos nuevamente hechos en este monte y sus colonias*. Valencia, Joseph Estevan Dolz, 1749.

27 emblems dealing with the Society of Jesus described pp. 80-86.

P. 38: Caussin, Nicolas. Spanish ed.: *Símbolos selectos y parábolas del P. Nic. Cansino* . . . traducido de latín, y aumentado con varias observaciones por D. Francisco de la Torre . . . , Madrid, 1677. (Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, 766-767; Palau, 1st ed., II, 119).

P. 57: Faerno, Gabriello. *Fables in English and French Verse*. Translated from the Original Latin of Gabriel Faerno. London, 1741.

Frontispiece, signed by the engraver, Du Bose, and 100 copperplates.

P. 59: Ferrer de Valdecebro, Andrés. *Gobierno general, moral, y político, hallado en las fieras y animales sylvestres, sacado de sus naturales propiedades y virtudes, con particular tabla para sermones varios de tiempo, y de santos*. Madrid, 1680. Other eds.: Barcelona, 1696; Madrid, 1728.²

Haro, Gregorio. *Empresas morales para explicación de los mandamientos de la ley de Dios*. Valladolid, 1703. (Palau, 1st ed., IV, 10).

Iconologia de Peregrino. Cited by F. J. Sánchez Cantón, "La librería de Velázquez," *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1925), III, 392, no. 33.

P. 95: Ledesma, Alonso de. For editions of his work, see *Bulletin Hispanique*, LV (1953), 191-199.

Lorea, Antonio de. *David penitente. Empresas morales, politico-cristianas*. Madrid, Sanz, 1673.

Monzón, Francisco de. *Norte de ydiotas*. Lisboa, Ioannes Blauio de Colonia, 1563.

Eight prayers and brief essays on religious subjects, each introduced by an emblematic device.

Noot (Noodt), Jan van der. *Het Theatre oft Toon-neel* . . .

I have examined the English version, *A Theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries & calamities that follow the voluptuous Worldlings* . . . , London, Henry Bynneman, 1569, which contains 20 emblematic devices.³

² If this type of work is to be classified as emblem literature, we should then like to cite the following related books: Jerónimo Cortés Valenciano, *Libro y tratado de los animales terrestres y volátiles, con la historia y propiedades dellos* (Valencia, 1615); Francisco Marcuello, *Primera parte de la historia natural y moral de las aves* (Zaragoza, 1617). See Palau, 1st ed., v, 53; Manuel Jiménez Catalán, *Ensayo de una tipografía saragozana del siglo XVII* (Zaragoza, 1927), 121.

³ For all editions, consult Aug. Vermeylen, *Leven en Werken van Jonker van der Noot* (Antwerpen, 1899), 145-146; There is a modern edition of van der Noot's work: *Het Bosken en Het Theatre*. Inleiding en Aantekeningen van W. A. P. Smit, met medewerking van W. Vermeer. Amsterdam and Antwerp, 1953. (See *CL*, VII [1955], 76-78). Consult also: Ernest H. Wilkins, "A General Survey of Renaissance Petrarchism," *CL*, II (1950),

P. 120: Ortiz, Lorenzo. *Ver, oír, oler . . .* Copy in Hispanic Society of America has date 1686.

Pozuelo y Espinosa, Juan Antonio. *Empresas políticas y militares que con el adorno de moralidades y virtudes tienen por único y principal objeto sacar un perfectísimo soldado.* Madrid, Joseph González, 1731. (Palau, 1st ed., VI, 150).

P. 139: Ripa, Cesare. For Spanish translation of *Iconologia*, see *Italica*, XXVIII (1952), 254-256.

P. 143: Romaguera, Joseph. *Atheneo . . .* Hispanic Society of America copy: Barcelona, Joseph Llopis, 1687.

Tribaldos de Toledo, Ludovicus. *Blemmata.* Ms. Cited by Nicolás Antonio.

P. 167: Valades, Didacus. *Rhetorica Christiana . . .*; other eds.: Perusia, 1583; Rome, 1587.⁴

P. 179: Zingreff, Julius Wilhelm. See: Curt von Faber du Faur, "The Author of the *Sapientia Picta*," *The Yale University Library Gazette*, XXVIII (1954), 156-160.

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KARL LUDWIG SELIG

REVIEWS

Roger Asselineau, *L'Évolution de Walt Whitman: Après la Première Edition des Feuilles d'Herbe* (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1954. 567 pp. Bibliography and index). ROGER Asselineau, Maître de Conférences at the University of Lyon, has produced a comprehensive Whitman study of the first importance. In his text and his generous annotations Dr. Asselineau has provided a useful evaluation of previous scholarship, while perfecting his own critical method, which employs the accumulated evidence concerning Whitman's personality and experience in studying the development of the seven editions of

327-342; René Galland, "Un poète errant de la Renaissance: Jean Van der Noot et l'Angleterre," *RLC*, II (1922), 337-350; Mario Praz, "Petrarca e gli emblematici," *Ricerche Anglo-Italiane* (Rome, 1944), p. 305; C. F. A. Van Dam, "Dos sonetos españoles desconocidos de un poeta portugués," *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal* (Madrid, 1952), III, 237-245.

⁴Consult E. Toda y Güell, *Bibliografía Espanyola d'Italia*, IV, 222-223; Lucas Waddingus, *Scriptores ordinis minorum* (Rome, 1650), p. 103; Jo. Hyacinthi Sbaraleae, *Supplementum et castigatio ad scriptores trium ordinum S. Francisci a Waddingo, aliisne descriptos* (Rome, 1806), p. 218; Marcellino da Civezza, *Saggio di una bibliografia geografica storica etnografica sanfrancescana* (Prato, 1879), 605-606.

Leaves of Grass from 1855 to 1881-2. In the light of Whitman's changes, additions, and suppressions of text in these editions, we are made to reconsider the sources of his inspiration, the broadening of his experience, and the evolution of his ideas. The idea of progress is both inherent and explicit in *Leaves of Grass*, and Whitman's revisions over a considerable period produced ambiguities, especially in the poems expressing his early psychological or sexual dualism, in which he gradually adopted a more private or symbolic expression. As his most original contribution Asselineau shows how this emotional dualism, sublimated through the crucial experiences of Whitman's life, resulted in the perfection of his poetry of cosmic unity, human love, and democracy.

As Dr. Asselineau notes, his method has been suggested in part by the studies of Triggs, Binns, Holloway, Allen, Schyberg, and Canby. However, the only extensive previous work that relied primarily upon the same psychological orientation was that of the French scholar, Jean Catel, whose *Walt Whitman: La Naissance du Poète* (1929) concentrated attention upon the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1855). In the light of evidence that has accumulated since the publication of Catel's work, Asselineau reaches different conclusions even concerning the nature of Whitman's personality in the early years.

L'Évolution de Walt Whitman contains two parts, the first dealing with "The Creation of a Personality," the second with "The Creation of a Work." Each of these twin studies is based first of all upon the successive editions of the *Leaves*. The first part is a biographical study of eleven chapters, incorporating and evaluating the known facts and many reasonable conjectures. However, Asselineau has an object beyond biography in the strict sense. "Whitman simply wished to create a book, and at the same stroke he created himself": the man Whitman, of Brooklyn, Washington, or Camden, is engaged in creating the literary personality, "Walt Whitman, a cosmos," conceived as the bardic voice of his people, an *alter ego* who had also been gestating in the "long foreground" which Emerson said must have existed "somewhere." Asselineau locates this foreground more precisely than previous writers. From his earliest youth Whitman had been slowly "absorbing his country"; his sense of the mission to "express" that country had become compelling by 1850, during the gathering storm before the Civil War. The second element in his inspiration was the recognition of his own psychological ambivalence.

This recognition may have centered in an episode not fully proved—an unfulfilled love for an unidentified man in 1859-60. Certainly the next year Whitman first brought together his poems of sex as creative force in the third edition (1860).

The Civil War occasioned the crucial development of Whitman's creative personality by producing the kind of heroes and comrades that the poet had foretold, whom he now represented in *Drum-Taps* and the Lincoln poem. Asselineau believes that the poet's experience as the "wound-dresser" provided the final psychological maturity: "As though by a strange transmutation, under the influence no doubt of his pity for these wounded young men, his homosexual instincts were sublimated in the course of these three years, and were expressed in the ardor of mystical love, so pure and entirely free from carnal desire that it enabled him to speak in terms paternal or fraternal; . . . to realize that democracy of comrades, established upon 'manly love,' which he had announced in 1860" (p. 179). Asselineau shows how, in the editions of the seventies, Whitman perfected his idealization of the qualities of "adhesiveness" and "comradeship," gave them integration within the large concept of a spiritual democracy, and was able to purge the overtone of egotism from the concept of the Self or "Ones-self."

The second half of this study, entitled "The Creation of a Work," follows the same chronology as the first, edition by edition, in twelve chapters devoted to the evolution of Whitman's craftsmanship and his major themes. Dr. Asselineau shows that there was genuine consistency among these various themes, when seen in their development as a whole. For example, he recognizes the roots of Whitman's mysticism in his early "poetry of the body," but "the body was not for him an end in itself, but a means. . . . He displaced, in sum, the centre of sensibility," substituting sexual realization for "the heart" (pp. 288-9). However, this sexual realization becomes a primitive symbol of all realization and knowledge, until it incorporates the great harmony of the universe and God. Asselineau perceives in Whitman's ideas "a profound logic of thought," a "metaphysics"; and that metaphysics, as Whitman claimed, was essentially religious. This religious sense suffused his conception of the individual and the universal Spirit. It unified his theory of the individual, turning it from egotism to an act of worship. For now the "Me" took on a twin identity; its twofold life was represented to some degree by the body, in which was deposited the outcome of human evolution and

history. "The other I Am," a living spirit, gradually encompassed all the experiences of the body and the unfolding "Not-Me" that lies outside the individual body. This "other I Am" is a new spiritual identity, and it is immortal.

In Asselineau's opinion, Whitman's belief that all nature and phenomena represent an unchanging absolute, slowly revealed by the progressive cycles of experience, was the basis for his anti-traditionalism, especially his anti-clericalism, his disdain for dogma and orthodoxy, his attitudes toward spiritual and social morality, his toleration for present imperfections in the human condition, or his patience toward the temporary disorders of democratic society. These subjects and others are fully developed, especially in the light of the symbolism, rhythm, and forms of the poems themselves.

According to Asselineau, the "Fundamental Aesthetique" of Whitman depended upon his conception of the poet as both a visionary and a prophet. As he paraphrases Whitman: "All literature had for its aim to put the spirit of the reader in contact with the soul of the world. . . . The poet is he who sees the farthest and who has the greatest faith." His vision is cosmic and his imagination will be represented in the forms of "grandeur" rather than in the delicacies of "fancy." If the poet chooses sex for his symbol of the restless and generative energy of human experience, that is because he finds it to be the most universal expression of that law, not only in the individual and society, but also in the vast phenomena of nature, such as the sunrise, where "something I cannot see puts upward libidinous prongs" toward the over-arching universe. Asselineau properly emphasizes Whitman's natural inclination toward the "organic" (as opposed to the "mechanic") theory of art. The work of art must be viewed as a whole, and its formal characteristics are the natural result and expression of the inherent forces of idea and experience. There is perhaps little here concerning Whitman's aesthetics that has not been said before, but in this study as a whole we see for the first time the stages of growth and experience by which the man and his work gradually became one. "Reader, this is no book. Who touches this touches a man."

Dr. Asselineau's thesis causes him to seek too assiduously for the autobiographical element, to the detriment of those poems in which sheer inspiration lifted Whitman to the heights of pure vision. Also the fact that this work incorporates two studies in one leads to the repetition of material, to an irritating sense of lost motion, and to

a diminished emphasis. Yet even such comments seem churlish in respect to an accomplishment so large and so fundamental. The author has further put us in his debt by the wealth and accuracy of his documentation and by the selective excellence of his lengthy bibliography. In view of its considerable length, a translation of this book into English would probably give it an additional currency.

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SCULLEY BRADLEY

Lewis Leary, ed., *Articles on American Literature: 1900-1950* (Durham: Duke Univ. Press, 1954. xvi + 437 pp. \$7.50). THIS volume, for its purpose admirably designed and printed, is Professor Leary's long-awaited "revision and extension of the listing published in 1947 as *Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals, 1920-1945*." It contains, roughly, twice as many entries as the previous list, and so will inevitably be the guide-book for workers in its field. As such, however, it has its shortcomings, presents its problems, and needs to be used with a little care. The following comments will therefore be cautionary in nature—as were the comments of the first-named of the present reviewers when he wrote correspondingly of the first list in this journal (LXIV [1949], 67-68). We follow as closely as we can the form of the review of the first list.

1. *Accuracy of entries:* A one-to-a-page sampling of some one hundred entries (subject, as before, to all the dangers inherent in such a procedure) shows errors in thirty. They are for the most part petty errors—the most annoying being incorrect volume-numbers of periodicals. In such cases the dates seem always to be given correctly, so that it would appear to be a good working rule to hunt up periodicals, whenever possible, by date instead of volume-number. Such errors, of course, are to be expected in the very nature of the task that Professor Leary and his confrères set themselves; for bibliography by a committee of correspondence is automatically bibliography with a risk. Those of us who use the list are under an obligation to make corrections as we can and to send them to Professor Leary. We may hope for a list of errata some day.

2. *Coverage of periodicals surveyed.* Working from five-year samples of periodicals (the same ones surveyed in the review of the first list) to the list itself, we make the following tentative obser-

vations: *American Literature*, *Modern Language Notes*, *PMLA*, and *Accent* are covered quite well; there is only one omission of an "article on American literature" in each of the first three and none in the last. In the case of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*,¹ the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, and the *Southern Review*, articles on authors are almost all included in the list, but articles which might be classified under any of a number of subject-headings are too often missing. Thus, although coverage of these last named periodicals is better here than in the first list, it is still inadequate. This observation is worth making, because so many of the significant articles in these periodicals are on "general" matters, whereas articles in the first-named tend to focus on authors. And this observation applies to a limited extent to the first-named periodicals too; for inevitably the choice of a subject-heading under which to enter a "general" article will seem too highly arbitrary to many users of the list. All of which means that the researcher working up a bibliography on a "subject," particularly an interdisciplinary or synthesizing subject, won't get proper help from the list.

3. *Coverage of periodicals especially surveyed for the extended list.* Working, again, from five-year samples of some of this group of additional periodicals surveyed, we make these observations: Coverage of the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library and Notes and Queries* is adequate. The *American Historical Review* seems to have been badly covered not only for the years sampled (in this case, 1901-1906) but through 1918; yet this impression may be owing to the fact that "general" (and therefore debatably includable) articles predominated in this particular journal. So also with the *Nation* and the *New Republic*; coverage was very spotty indeed; moreover, it would be difficult properly to justify the exclusion of essay-reviews and critical pieces on significant authors as well as subjects. The case of the *Little Review*, so far as we can tell, can only be called very bad, evidence of work carelessly done or not done at all; there were included in the list only two articles out of some forty for the years

¹ Readers of the review of the earlier list might note that the *Proceedings* do not score so well in this review as in that one. Two facts likely will serve as an explanation: a different five-year run was surveyed for the second review; and the reviewers this time have, more carefully following Professor Leary's example, set up less rigorous criteria for an "article on American literature." Nonetheless, they have tried to be especially careful not to so classify subject—(as opposed to author—) material which just *might* be so classified. The lesson, we hope, is obvious: A review such as this is not a statistical study, but a series of notes on things a user of the list might well keep in mind when he uses it.

1917-1921, and these might well have been picked up from sources besides the files of the magazine itself. This case, we trust, is the exception. And we conclude that to us it seems that there were set up overly rigorous criteria for inclusion of articles in those periodicals surveyed especially for the extended list.

4. *Coverage of supplementary bibliographical sources.* We sampled two of these, the bibliographical section of the *Literary History of the United States* and the text of the Hoffman-Allen-Ulrich *Little Magazine*. The first was well covered; the second covered hardly at all. The failure of the latter coverage is particularly to be regretted; for there is a good deal of significant material listed in *The Little Magazine* which one would like to have put in such a generally inclusive list as the one under review. All that it is appropriate to remark here is that this was an Opportunity Missed.

5. *Generally.* We found difficulty in justifying the omission of much material not on specific authors, especially when the principle of omission seemed to be so variable. (We take this to be a variability not so much of Professor Leary, but of those who followed and interpreted his instructions—most of them a long, long way from him.) It would seem to us, however, to be a good bibliographical rule that just enough is *not* as good as a feast and that, in lists like this one, as often as possible the user of the list, not the compiler, should be allowed to pass judgment on "borderline" material. (Where we noted articles as specifically omitted, be it remarked, we tried *not* to include such borderline material.) Coverage of such material would not have swelled the list out of all proportion, we think. And if the price would have had to be raised a little—well, such a list is a once-in-a-lifetime project, and \$8.50, when one is going all-out bibliographically, is not so much more than \$7.50.

Professor Leary, then, has done a noble job, as have all those who have patiently searched periodicals for him. (Unhappily he doesn't have space to name them here, he did in the first list.) Although the list is inevitably a little too rough-and-ready, it is a large achievement—an achievement of a widely scattered community of scholars working hard to make the way of their fellows easier. Their fellows can now make corrections, note omissions, suggest periodicals yet to be searched, and hope for an even better supplementary list in the future. Most important, they can be grateful.

Ohio State University

ROY HARVEY PEARCE
ROBERT SHULMAN

Eric Partridge, *The Concise Usage and Abusage* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. ix + 219 pp. \$3.50). *THE Concise Usage and Abusage* is an abridgment of Eric Partridge's earlier *Usage and Abusage*. It is written in much the same vein as Fowler's *Modern English Usage* and will serve much the same purposes. Mr. Partridge's guiding principles are in fact those of a long line of predecessors: whenever anomaly, or even what appears to be anomaly, raises its ugly head, logic and analogy are the weapons employed for its extermination. The subjectivity and authoritarianism of many of his dicta likewise follow an ancient and honorable tradition.

A few detailed comments follow:

- P. 7 An item such as "*alarum* is archaic for *alarm*" is hardly necessary in a work of this kind.
- P. 15 The *and which* construction condemned by Partridge has been used by reputable writers for a very long time.
- P. 63 It is doubtful that *anyone's else* and the like are as "acceptable" in American use as Partridge believes, despite the schoolteachers' silly campaign to inculcate the construction a number of years ago.
- P. 85 After the entry *hallelujah* we are instructed to "See *alleluia*." Where? Presumably in the process of abridgment the cross reference was deleted. Likewise for *seamstress* ("See *sempstress*," which is not entered) and *ligature* ("See *diphthongs*," which is not entered, though there is an entry for *diphthong* stating merely that it is incorrect for "*diphthong*").
- P. 102 Professor Cabell Greet (Cavell Greet on the front flap of the dust jacket!), who has all too infrequently annotated the book for American users, might have pointed out that American scholarly usage makes a distinction between *linguistics* and *philology* somewhat at variance with that cited by Partridge.
- P. 124 Jespersen, Chesterton, and Ludwig Wittgenstein are all chided for their "misplacement" of *only*. It is recommended that Mr. Partridge read what Sir Ernest Gowers has written on the subject of *only*-snooping (in his *Plain Words: Their ABC*).
- P. 195 It is doubtful that *their* can be said to be "misused" for *his* in the sentence "Anyone thinks twice when their life is at stake." The use of *they*, *their*, and *them* as singular relative pronouns of indeterminate gender has long been perfectly well established, even in formal contexts.

Tremendous industry went into the making of this book—an industry characteristic of Eric Partridge as it is of few other living men. One must regret that the usefulness of *The Concise Usage and Abusage*, like that of its more voluminous predecessor, is to a large extent limited to those who have little to say but want to say that little very well. Many who have admired Partridge's contributions to

the lexicography of non-standard speech will have little regard for such counsels of perfection as are to be found in the work under review.

If one has the sanction of *The Concise Usage and Abusage*, one is indeed on the side of the angels; but the sad fact remains that the makers of English literature have been very careless about following such prescriptions as are laid down in Partridge's handbook. That Partridge is aware of this defection is implicit in his many citations, more in sadness than in anger, of "errors" committed by eminent writers.

University of Florida

THOMAS PYLES

Alphonse V. Roche, *Provençal Regionalism: A Study of the Movement in the "Revue félibréenne," "Le Feu" and Other Reviews of Southern France* (Evanston: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1954. xix + 271 pp. Northwestern Univ. Studies, Humanities Series, 30).

ROCHE'S book describes and analyses Provençal regionalism between 1885 and World War II. His sources are mainly the *Revue félibréenne*, *Le Feu*, and other regional periodicals. After an introductory chapter on the reviews and the personalities of their editors, he gives in Chapter II an exposé of the "general principles and concrete aims" of the regionalists. This is no easy task since the policies of regionalist leaders are changing and sometimes vague. One is under the impression that regionalism, although it was supported by various theories and produced various *programmes d'action*, is animated mainly by strong feelings and ranges from a patriotic love for the native tongue and *la petite patrie* to petty nationalist *revendications* and the creation of "race" myths. The most innocent claims were those of a literary renaissance, but politics came in, opposing regional federalism to the traditional French centralism, with ensuing programmes for reforming schools and provincial universities. One naturally looked for allies in the vigorous Catalan autonomist movement and took also an interest in the various Basque, Breton, Flemish and Alsatian "causes."

Chapter III gives an account of the contrast between North and South, partly based on history, climate and geography; partly on legends and prejudices. Through partisan eyes the northerners

appear as "barbarians," whereas the southerners are seen as voluble garlic-eating windbags. Different national "souls" and "races" are invented and believed in, questions of religion, ethnology, even of political organization, are interpreted in the light of emotional prejudices. But the debate between South and North never really endangered French unity. Separatist claims were only supported by a few eccentrics.

The following chapters single out certain specific issues or manifestations of Regionalism. As the Germans had their Pan-Germanism, the Slavs their Pan-Slavism, many southern regionalists adhered to a sort of Pan-Latinism or Union of Mediterranean peoples, including the French and sometimes even the British, and of course, Latin-America. One of the main organs for the propagation of these ideas was the *Revue du Monde Latin*. In contrast to these theories "Mistralism" was represented as a much more humane, moderate traditionalism (Chapter IV). An important rôle in the discussion was played by the question of dialects (Chapter V). Their very existence and variety made it difficult to create one southern linguistic medium of expression. Besides, the local speech was not actively supported by a special élite if we except certain intellectuals, and even the schools in the South found it difficult to accommodate the study of local speech forms in their programmes. Less obvious to the outsider than the importance of the problem of dialects is that of bullfighting (Chapter VI). Yet the right to organise bullfights became one of those curious issues round which it was possible to crystallize strong feelings and colourful mass-manifestations. One of the by-products of the ardent discussions was the humorous proposal made by Pierre Longal to found a "Société Protectrice des Petits Poissons," an idea worth propagating!

Chapter VII dealing with "Literature" is in the nature of a brief exposé of writings on Dante, Petrarch, d'Annunzio, Catalan literature, furthermore on Moréas, Le Cardonnel, Daudet and many others, including Mallarmé.

A critical "conclusion" forms the last chapter of the book, pointing out the relative merits and weaknesses of the regionalist movement in Southern France.

As can be seen from this brief *résumé* the work under review is of fascinating interest to all lovers of France. It is eminently readable and clear. The attitude of the author is everywhere enlightened and at the same time sympathetic and critical. This is no mean achieve-

ment in a work which constantly deals with controversial matters, the expression of which ranges from the sublime to the ridiculous, from the idyllic to the "chauvinistic." In all this he maintains an admirable poise, letting things speak for themselves, without hardly ever raising his own reasonable voice.

He seems not to be a linguist. For him a *patois* is a "disintegrated dialect"; on one occasion (p. 121) he says that "dialects or languages diversify rapidly and degenerate into patois." The names of Ascoli, Bréal, Gaston Paris, Pio Rajna are evoked, but it is not clear how linguistics influenced regionalism (if it did), and how far it drew inspirations from it.

He pays only passing attention to the possible detrimental influence of linguistic centralization on literary expression in Southern France. It has been said of Deladier that his powers of expression suffered whenever he had to speak the standard tongue. On the other hand the *Felibres* themselves "invariably turn to French as soon as the conversation takes a somewhat sophisticated turn" (p. 207).

It is not one of the least attractions of Professor Roche's book that it raises everywhere the most far-reaching questions of social diseases as they manifest themselves in pseudo-scientific beliefs and antagonistic attitudes based on them. It also throws some indirect light on a sort of "trahison des cleres" who abdicate from social responsibilities in the name of ideal (or academic) responsibilities. The author can write without fear of being misunderstood: "We must skip the academic quarrel concerning the existence or non-existence of dialects" (p. 141). Linguistic science has hardly much to offer for the guidance of those who are concerned with social and linguistic policies, and the linguist looking at the contemporary field of sociolinguistic superstitions can hardly help "mea culpa."

University College of West Indies

M. SANDMANN

Robert E. Hallowell, *Ronsard and the Conventional Roman Elegy* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1954. vii + 176 pp. \$3.50, cloth; \$2.50, paper. Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. 37, No. 4). HALLOWELL has dealt with Ronsard's debt to Roman Elegy in a somewhat novel manner. He says:

I have tried to approach the subject . . . not as a literary sleuth relentlessly tracking down every word or phrase which the poet might have borrowed

from the Latin elegists, although I flatter myself that I have in the course of this study discovered most of them, but rather as a portraitist capturing Ronsard in one of his favorite poses, that of the elegist in the Roman tradition.

The portrait emerges in Part II, Chapter 4, where under eight broad headings—"The tortured Lover," "The obdurate Mistress," etc.—Hallowell has set forth, relentlessly enough, all that Tibullus, Propertius, and Ovid say on these matters, followed by all that Ronsard says. In the end, the reader is ready to concede that 'elegist in the Roman tradition' is one of Ronsard's favorite poses—not perhaps news to everyone. But the method has the merit of freeing the author from what is accidental in the poet's verbal borrowings, and permitting him to convey, with many small strokes, the essential similarity of Ronsard in this pose to the Roman originals.

A flaw in the portrait, though not a fatal one, is that we are often bound to recognize, even when the author does not, that utterances of Ronsard here compared with elegy are themselves borrowed from other poets. One wishes that the introductory Part 1 had included a consideration of some of the neo-Latin elegists whose work Ronsard knew so well; the profile of just one of them, say of Pontano or Secundus, might possibly have blurred the portrait of Ronsard as a Roman elegist, but might also have added a truth by showing him as an elegist in the Renaissance tradition. I would take this in exchange for the first chapter, on "Editions, Translations, and Excerpts," since these are brought into no relation with Ronsard, and for most of the next chapter, on the "Rôle of the Roman Elegists in the Collège de Coqueret," since of such a rôle there is no evidence whatever. Hallowell here digresses to discuss *inter alia* what Binet meant by saying in his *Vie de Ronsard* that "Dorat par un artifice nouveau luy apprenoit la langue latine par la grecque." Let us digress with him, since that statement has puzzled others. He opines, after Chamard, that the innovation was "to begin *first* with the Greek language and Greek authors, as Quintilian advocated, and afterwards to point out the similarities of Latin and Latin writers." But this would not be an artifice, nor very new, nor what Quintilian advocated, nor even feasible. We are prone to assume that, as in our own classes, the chief object was the reading and understanding of authors, but at least as important in the humanist school was composition, the theme. Montaigne also received Latin instruction by a novel artifice: "Si, par essay, on me vouloit donner un theme, à la mode des collèges, on le donne aux autres en François, mais à moy il me le falloit donner

en mauvais Latin, pour le tourner en bon." That was because Michel could not read French; but it would have been pedagogically sound for Dorat to give Ronsard the theme in Greek to be turned out and elaborated in Latin, at the same time perfecting his Latin and improving his Greek.

In Part III, Hallowell finally brings himself to consider Ronsard's substantial debt to Roman Elegy; descriptive observations are followed by a fifty-page Appendix setting out the passages affected. Most of these parallels are necessarily taken from Laumonier, but Hallowell has added a fair number of his own. Many of the parallels are unquestionable; but many dubious ones have been included only because the author's critical method is too weak to reject them. Yet Ronsard's usual habit is correctly described: "Ronsard rarely paraphrases or translates. In most cases, he borrows a particularly vivid or apt detail from the Latin poets, fitting it perfectly into the rest of the poem" (p. 111). That is rule enough (though, of course, far from absolute) to alert us against many cases of supposed paraphrasing. What causes confusion is Ronsard's use of *loci communes*. For the broader commonplaces, we might imagine that he had at hand an interleaved copy of something like Mirandula's *Flores Poetarum*, where under various topics—"De Aetatibus," "De Amore," etc.—he would find a string of passages from which on occasion he might select a vivid image, phrase, or line. His knowledge of the commonplace is not tied to one author, and the source of the vivid phrase proves nothing about the context. For more restricted commonplaces, the source of the phrase is more likely to be the source of the idea.

Misapplication of these principles is seen in ten passages under the topic "lovers in Elysium" which Hallowell presents (confidently, p. 102; less confidently, p. 140) as all hanging from Tibullus 1.3.57-66. He relies on the phrase "myrtle groves" which appears in all ten. But this is the *myrtea silva* of Virgil's limbo of unhappy lovers (*Aeneid*, 6.443), not the garlands, *myrtea sarta*, of Tibullus. That would finish it, except that "lovers in Elysium" is a theme practically restricted to Tibullus 1.3 and Propertius 4.7. But all becomes clear, and Tibullus vanishes entirely, when, following Laumonier's hint, we see that the stronger passages depend on J. Secundus' rather famous *Basium* 2, which develops this topic. Running the specific theme "lovers in Elysium" back to the general theme "Elysium," Ronsard has adorned several passages with further details from Virgil's Elysium (*Aeneid*, 6.637 ff). With this topic he also sometimes

associates that of "poets meeting in Elysium," especially Tibullus and Catullus (pp. 102-3), and I do not see how Hallowell here escapes referring to Ovid, *Amores*, 3.9.59-66. In fact, this connection perhaps allows us to wring from the ten passages just one line for Roman elegy:

I'iray pour augmenter des amoureux le nombre.
(Ronsard, ed. crit., 12. 269)
Auxisti numeros, culte Tibulle, pios.
(Ovid, *Amores*, 3. 9. 66)

In a broad commonplace like the description of the Golden Age, the risk is still greater. Here Hallowell, though prudent, nevertheless follows Laumonier in ascribing too much to Tibullus. For example, the pine not yet cut to build ships (p. 126) is in all the poets; the passage, "Que maudit soit," etc. (p. 123) owes nothing to Tibullus 1.3 or 1.10, but has something in common with Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.138-43; and a passage on primitive free love (p. 128) echoes, not Propertius or Ovid, but—once more—Secundus:

Que j'aime la saison, où le mari de Rhée
Gouvernoit sous sa faux la terre bien-heurée!
Lors Hymen n'estoit Dieu. . . .
Le plaisir estoit libre. . . .
Encores s'ignoroit l'amour acquise à force, . . .
Et le nom de mari, qui semble si cruel.
(Ronsard, ed. by Marty-Laveaux, 4. 137)

Quam bene priscorum currebat vita parentum,
Ingenuae Veneris libera sacra colens!
Nondum coniugii nomen servile patebat,
Nec fuerat Divis adnumeratus Hymen, [etc.]
(Secundus, *Elegia*, 1 [2]. 7)

One cannot deal with Ronsard's sources without having his favorite neo-Latin poets at hand. The rule of the single vivid detail should have been applied on p. 124, where, *pace* Laumonier, only the first line:

Qu' heureuse fut la gent qui vivoit sous Saturne,

comes from the first line of the Latin (Tibullus, 1.3.35):

Quam bene Saturno vivebant rege,

while for the rest Ronsard has selected traits of the Golden Age quite different from those given by Tibullus. These borrowed flashes are very characteristic, and easily escape notice. Another in this same

poem (*Exhortation pour la Paix*, 115) is again a bit of Roman elegy undetected by Laumonier or Hallowell:

Les vaines de leur col noyrcissent de colère.
(Ronsard, ed. crit., 9.21)

Ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine venae.
(Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 3.503)

Cornell University

JAMES HUTTON

Friedrich Maurer, *Die politischen Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1954. viii + 136 pp. DM 14). Friedrich Maurer, *Die Lieder Walthers von der Vogelweide unter Beifügung erhaltener und erschlossener Melodien*, I. Bändchen: *Die religiösen und die politischen Lieder* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1955. 96 pp. Altdeutsche Textbibliothek Nr. 43).

THESE two slender volumes represent the boldest but probably the best founded advance in Walther scholarship since the work of Lachmann almost 130 years ago, and the revised text and *Untersuchungen* (1934) of the late Carl von Kraus in our own age. To those who are familiar with the work of Bützler and Gennerich, and who have read Maurer's own article on the "Wiener Hofton" in the *Annals of the Finnish Academy of Science* (1954), Maurer's latest achievements will not come as a complete surprise, for there the groundwork had already been laid. In brief, Maurer had fortified the not altogether new principle (and proved it, I think) that the great majority of Walther's so-called "Sprüche" were polystrophic, and not monostrophic, and that they were not chanted or recited, but sung. In other words, most of the "Sprüche" are distinguishable from the "Lieder" only in theme and subject matter. The fact that the Münster fragments also contain fragments of melodies (2. Philippston and König Friedrichston), and the existence of a counter-facture of the Wiener Hofton in the Colmar *Liederbuch* (also one of the Ottenton) seem to provide clear evidence that the various "Sprüche" in these meters were sung to the preserved melodies.

Throughout Walther scholarship of the last 130 years the "Sprüche" with identical melodies have been separated and dismembered into monostrophic parts according to a real or fancied chronology. Maurer now brings together the various monostrophes to restore as far as possible the polystrophic poems which Walther

intended. His principle is that while *all* the strophes in the same "Ton" do not necessarily constitute a single "Lied," yet uniformity of form and melody adds up to uniformity of theme and occasion.

Three monostrophic "Sprüche" remain after Maurer has pieced the rest together as parts of polystrophic poems, namely 104, 23 (Tegernsee), 85, 25 (*ich sah hie*), and 104, 33 (*daz miltter man*). But he admits the existence of very difficult questions relating to strophic sequence and dating. Each "Ton," he feels, prevailed for a comparatively brief period and was devoted to a single theme and subject, often treated, however, in the seemingly offhand, illogical method of the minnesinger who in his stanzas jumps from one aspect of a theme to another.

The old chronological system of arranging Walther's poems must be changed to conform to Maurer's pattern. A political song may, for example, have been written in 1203 but deal with more or less related events of, say 1198 and 1202. The genesis, Maurer thinks, was sometimes gradual. At any rate, the important factor is not the genesis but the purpose.

Had Maurer wished, he could have made this process clearer to the modern reader, it seems to me, by references to the quite similar practice of Goethe in a much later age. To quote a case in point: Goethe wrote ten stanzas of his "Epilog zu Schillers Glocke" for a memorial service in 1805, shortly after Schiller's death. Stanza 12 was added in 1806 for another memorial service, while parts of stanzas 5 and 6, as well as stanza 13, were occasioned by the tenth anniversary by Schiller's death. How difficult and, in the final analysis, how unimportant is the *genesis* of the finished poem as compared with its *purpose*!

Let us now see concretely how Maurer proceeds in *Die politischen Lieder*. Sub Reichston he brings together (with melody): 8, 4-17 (*ich saz*) as stanza 1; 8, 28-9, 15 (*ich horte*) as stanza 2; and 9, 16-39 as stanza 3 (*ich sach*). This is followed by 1. Philippston: 19, 29-20, 3 is stanza 1; 18, 29-19, 4 is stanza 2; 19, 5-16 is stanza 3; 19, 17-28 is stanza 4; 20, 4-15 is stanza 5. There follow: (with melody) the Wiener Hofton, 13 stanzas (24, 18; 22, 3; 20, 16; 22, 18, etc.), the 1. Atzeton (with melody), 3 stanzas, the 2. Philippston (with melody), 4 stanzas, the 2. Atzeton, 7 stanzas, etc. (7 more "Töne," 2 melodies) and in conclusion the "Elegie," and the crusading songs, which are also considered political songs, and finally the three monostrophes. Melodies are given wherever possible, Günther

Birkner being responsible for this phase of the work. A ten-page conclusion sums up the results.

The more recent volume in the "Altdeutsche Textbibliothek" (again with melodies) does not contain much more text than the earlier work, adding the "religious" songs, but it omits the extensive justification for choice of stanzas, sequence, etc. which the former volume required. In a subsequent volume of the "Textbibliothek" the songs of love and of nature will follow, but these will not require nearly as much rearrangement as did the poems in the present booklet.

It would be nothing short of miraculous if Maurer had succeeded in hitting upon the exact disposition of the newly constituted polystrophic poems, in the exact sequence that Walther intended. Maurer himself would be the last to make such a claim, especially since scribes who lived only a few generations after Walther had already lost sight more or less completely of the arrangement intended by the poet. But that some sort of arrangement like Maurer's is called for, at least in many cases, can no longer be doubted. His method certainly constitutes progress over the conservative Lachmann-bound methods of Carl von Kraus in this respect.

Apart from the obvious consequences of Maurer's ingenious ideas, several results are bound to follow as by-products. The names for the "Töne" seem sillier than ever. The Lachmann system of numbering, to which we are shackled, is becoming more and more meaningless. Maurer's work will open new vistas for the study of Walther as a clever builder of strophes, a subject to which von Kraus has already contributed a great deal. Finally, future editors of Walther will hardly be able to afford not to follow Maurer in indicating the melodies in modern musical notation.

University of Cincinnati

EDWIN H. ZEYDEL

Karl Aschenbrenner and William B. Holther, eds., *Reflections on Poetry. Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten's Meditationes philosophicae de nonnullis ad poema pertinentibus* (Berkeley: Univ. of California Press, 1954. viii + 90 + 40 pp. \$3.50). BAUMGARTEN'S *Reflections on Poetry* was presented as a doctoral thesis in Halle in 1735, fifteen years before the first edition of his better known *Aesthetics* appeared. As an inventor of the name, if not the subject, of aesthetics, he has an eminent place in the history of philosophy,

and it is of at least antiquarian interest to have a translation and facsimile reproduction of his youthful work. It is doubtful if its author today would have been given more than an A. M. for it, but things were different in 1735 at Halle. The reader of this youthful work will discover that poetry is a form of discourse which in turn is found to be "a series of words which designate connected representations"; that a poem is "perfect sensate discourse"; and that sensate discourse involves "sensate representations"; and that sensate representations are "representations received through the lower part of the cognitive faculty." Why this is more worth saying than that "Poetry expresses ideas derived from sensory experience," or even "Poetry is the verbal expression of our sensations," does not appear from the editors' introduction. How sensations come into the picture can only be found at the end of the book, where it appears that Baumgarten in all probability, relying on the traditional faculty-psychology of the reason, the will, and the senses, decided that since the reason had logic and the will ethics, the senses ought to have something analogous which he proposed to call aesthetics. The editors, whose introduction is in many ways admirable, particularly in that it makes a reading of Baumgarten's own work superfluous, and whose translation is adequate, have, so it seems to at least one reader, an exaggerated opinion of the importance of the *Reflections*. But it does give one a clear idea of what a young German thought about poetry in the early eighteenth century and a clearer idea of the inadequacy of the pseudo-deductive method of stating his thoughts.

The Johns Hopkins University

GEORGE BOAS

E. L. Stahl, *Friedrich Schiller's Drama: Theory and Practice* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1954. 172 pp. \$2.90). THE works of Schiller serve as an effective example for showing that the nature of the literature investigated should determine the method to be used in interpreting it. While the intrinsic approach is appropriate in dealing with much of Hölderlin's poetry, interpretation of Schiller's dramas with their interweaving of ideas and images calls for extrinsic methods.

In analyzing the unity underlying Schiller's dramatic and reflective works E. L. Stahl's manner of procedure is, properly, an extrinsic one. His study is not a comprehensive survey of the poet's dramas but an

orderly presentation of the effect of practice upon theory as well as theory upon practice: The theme of the early dramas influenced crystallization of tragic theory which in turn shaped the notions found in the later tragedies.

Without retracing the author's steps over familiar ground we can point out the notable points made in his study. He makes very clear that Schiller did not find the roots of tragedy in social conditions but in the nature of man. The manifestation of tragedy is in the mind of the hero. (In this respect Schiller is closer to Lessing than to the Storm and Stress dramatists.) The heroes of the early dramas are imperfect and defeated idealists who are by no means embodiments of a didactically minded poet. They do not proclaim, moreover, a political freedom to be achieved by revolutionary means. Their creator later expressly disavowed all intent to influence the course of events by his pen.

In addition to demonstrating that popular notions regarding the dramatist's idealism and didacticism are wrong he also lays bare an error frequently committed in the analysis of the later works. By tracing the relationship between the principles of Kant and the tragedies of Schiller some critics have concluded that the poet's aim was to show the supremacy of rational over sensual impulses. The author is right in pointing out that Schiller's heroes incur guilt through predominance of an idealistic impulse as frequently as through predominance of a sensuous one.

The author's exposition exhibits a high degree of scholarly competence. The scheme of portraying the totality of Schiller's works as an interrelated whole, however, had for the author a fascination which led him to use on occasion left-handed devices when these were necessary to make the parts fit. In regard to Schiller's concept of sublimity, for example, the common and, I feel, correct explanation is that the poet relegated it to a subordinate position when he resumed his dramatic work with *Wallenstein*. Stahl's rejection of this interpretation (p. 88) is not easily reconciled with the following statements: "The ideal of sublimity had not lost its validity for him: he preferred to present a negative example in the figure of the realist Wallenstein" (p. 89); Johanna's submission to fate "implies a conception of sublimity not found as such in Schiller's discussion of the subject in his essays" (p. 123); "One cannot say that Schiller abandoned his ideal of sublimity when he wrote *Die Braut von Messina*, but in *Isabella* and *Don Cesar* he portrayed the defeat of

that ideal through the supremacy of passion" (p. 133); Tell "has no need to exhibit moral sublimity" (p. 138); "Like Wallenstein he (Demetrius) succumbs to temptation without recovering his moral integrity by achieving sublimity" (p. 151).

Even though the author has demonstrated lucidly the interlocking of the three phases of Schiller's development, would it not be preferable to retain the conventional formulation that the poet's classical dramas transcend portions of his theory rather than force the equation to come out!

Among the valuable insights brought home repeatedly is the clarification of Schiller's artistic intentions which were free from narrow didacticism and the false idealism often attributed to him. Aside from students and scholars in the field many a German "Gymnasial-lehrer" could profit from Stahl's research.

University of Southern California

HAROLD VON HOFE

Ernst Beutler, ed., *Goethe-Gedenkausgabe der Werke, Briefe und Gespräche* (Zürich: Artemis-Verlag. Vols. 2, 4, 6, 13, 16, 17). MIT diesen letzten sechs Bänden liegt uns nunmehr die *Gedenkausgabe* vollständig vor. Band 2 druckt den zweiten Teil der *Gedichte* nach der Anordnung der AH, enthaltend Nachlese, Paralipomena und Goethe zugeschriebene Gedichte. Die Einführung von Staiger (29 S.) gibt einen sehr knappen Überblick mit Heraushebung von einigen Gruppen oder besonders bedeutenden individuellen Erzeugnissen aus dieser "unerfreulichen" Zusammenstellung. Man hat das Gefühl, daß der Bearbeiter nicht mit derselben Lust gearbeitet hat wie am ersten Bande (außer in der Besprechung der letzten 10 Seiten über die Dornburger Gedichte) und fragt sich, ob Einzelanmerkungen hier nicht fruchtbarer gewesen wären. Eine sehr erwünschte Zugabe ist die fast hundert Seiten lange Liste der Vertonungen Goethischer Gedichte und das Register der Komponisten (Willi Schuh) sowie die Chronologie (Jakob Steiner). Das alphabetische Inhaltsverzeichnis der Titel und Gedichtanfänge bezieht sich auf beide Bände.

Band 4 (1109 S.) bringt die ganze Produktion des "jungen Goethe" (außer den Briefen und Gesprächen, die ihre eigene Stelle haben) mit Doppelfassungen (*Mitschuldigen, Götz, Werther*). Die Anmerkungen Ernst Beutlers (111 kleingedruckte Seiten) runden sich zu einer Biographie Goethes bis zum Ende des Jahres 1775, und es wird hier dem genießenden Laien auf knappstem Raum das zum

Verständnis Nötige in lebensgeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen und sachlichen Hinweisen geboten; dem Fachmann wird die Bewältigung eines aus genauester Kenntnis von tausend Einzelheiten zusammenge- drängten Materials und seine geistige Vertiefung zum bewundernden Genuß. Meisterstücke derart sind die acht Seiten über *Werther*, ähnlich die über die kleinen Dramen. Jedes Werkchen wird auf diese Weise neu lebendig als Ausdruck des wachsenden Dichters, der fest auf dem Boden seiner Zeit steht, es weiß und über sie hinauswächst, nicht eines problematischen Neurotikers und Schöpfers von zu rekon- struierenden Ur-Urfassungen, wie sie heute beliebt werden.

Band 6 enthält die Weimarer Dramen einschließlich der Gelegen- heitsdichtungen, Zeitdramen, Singspiele und kleineren dramatischen Fragmente mit einer sachkundigen, genetisch-ästhetischen Einführung von Kurt May (119 S.). Die Schriften zur Kunst erscheinen im 15. Bande nicht wie in der W. A. nach den Gattungen der besprochenen Gegenstände geordnet, sondern chronologisch, sodaß auf diese Weise ein Gesamtverlauf der Goethischen Kunstinteressen sich ergibt, die mit einem kurzen einführenden Aufsatz (14 S.) Christian Beutlers in knappen Leitlinien charakterisiert werden. Ausführliche Anmer- kungen kommentieren dann die einzelnen Artikel, unter Mithilfe von Ernst Beutler, sobald es sich um vorwiegend literarische Dinge handelt. Ein umfassendes Material ist hier verarbeitet und in den 114 Seiten des Registers noch einmal ausgezogen nach Personen, Werken, Orten und Begriffen. Besonders erfreulich sind die gut gelungenen Illustrationen, die ohne störende Glanzpapierverwendung an entsprechender Stelle eingeschoben werden.

Welchen Wert auch immer man diesen z. T. zeitgebundenen Kunst- studien Goethes zumessen mag, so wird man die Breite des Horizontes und die Schärfe der Goethischen Beobachtungsgabe bewundern müssen und zugleich an Einsicht gewinnen für das Wesen des Dichters Goethe. Ein Gleiches gilt für die Lektüre der beiden naturwissen- schaftlichen Bände 16 und 17, deren Auswahl, kritische Kommentie- rung und Einordnung in den Bereich der Forschung durch berufene Fachgelehrte (Andreas Speiser und Hans Fischer) dem Laien—und als solcher urteilt der Besprecher—bedeutende Einblicke in das Goe- thische Denken eröffnen.

The Johns Hopkins University

ERNST FEISE

Friedrich Hiebel, *Die Botschaft von Hellas: Von der griechischen Seele zum christlichen Geist* (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1953. 256 pp.).

THIS interesting volume deals with one of the most important problems in the history of the religious and moral evolution of mankind. It seeks to gather together from all of the available data an account of the successive and interrelated contributions in the fields of Hellenic culture, mythology, politics, aesthetics, philosophy, psychology, poetry, and the drama, that led to the gradual purification of the Greek soul and its transformation, at the apex of this evolution, into the Christian spirit.

The author has taken as his point of departure a sentence found in an essay on "Die Christenheit oder Europa" by the early German romanticist, Novalis: "Der Historiker trägt ja Evangelien vor, denn die ganze Geschichte ist Evangelium" (p. 11). Novalis was apparently so convinced of the truth of this proposition that, according to Hiebel, he drew from it as a corollary "daß es keine Religion gibt, die nicht auch im Grunde schon christlich ist" (p. 15).

There is more than one serious difficulty in accepting generalizations that equate history with the Gospel, the Gospel with all religion, and thus necessarily confound all history with religion in a static mystical vision. For it is not easy to see, by the terms of the crucial premises that Hiebel borrows from Novalis, how there could be a progression from the Greek soul to the Christian spirit, if all religions are by hypothesis fundamentally Christian. Again, assuming that such a progression were nevertheless possible, a moment's reflection on the significance of these premises, taken in conjunction with the title of Hiebel's book, seems to lead to the inference that all of Greek development was teleologically determined by Christian ideals.

That the preceding observations are not merely a set of hollow logical changes rung upon the postulates laid down by the author, and that a retrospective spiritual determination, quite as doctrinaire as any prospective materialistic determinism, seems, in fact, to govern Hiebel's thought at every important stage, may be seen in his treatment of the relationship between Aristotle and Alexander the Great. Hiebel seems to regard each major historical occurrence as a pre-ordained step in the progress from the Hellenic psyche to the Christian spirit. One of the greatest of these occurrences was the creation of the Macedonian Empire by Alexander, which is said to have done much toward the establishment of a cosmopolitan Hellenism based upon the *κοινή*, and thus to have prepared the way for the

universal acceptance of a Gospel proclaimed in that language. Hiebel very properly shows the closeness of the relationship between Alexander and his teacher, Aristotle. But there can be no justification for asserting that "Alexander erschien von Anfang an als der vom Schicksal vorherbestimmte Schüler des . . . Aristoteles" (pp. 85-86), nor in asserting, after Droysen's *Geschichte Alexanders des Grossen*, that "man sah in der Völkermischung des Hellenischen und Orientalischen [resulting from Alexander's conquests] den historischen Sinn, den Boden für die Aufnahme der Weltreligion des Christentums vorzubereiten" (p. 90). This method of historical interpretation, which would make of the greatest figures of antiquity the retrospective instruments of the Gospel, illustrates the piety, rather than the scientific accuracy, of the author.

Two related themes are especially prominent throughout Hiebel's presentation: the evolution of the qualities of conscience and the discovery of self.

Hiebel makes much of the fact that the word for conscience (*συνείδησις*) does not exist in earlier Greek literature through the period of the Platonic writings, although a form of the word (*σύνεισις*) had already appeared in the *Orestes* of Euripides in the year 408 B. C. (pp. 34-5 and 166). But it would be hazardous, indeed, to infer from the non-existence of a word in a given language at a given period of its development, the absence of the quality which that word represents. Thus, the absence of a word for conscience in the Socratic dialogues of Plato could prove nothing about a people that produced Socrates, whom Hiebel describes as "das lebendige Gewissen von Hellas" (p. 37).

Even more significant for the relative autonomy of the semantic and ethical evolutions of a people is the circumstance that the Erinyes, ancient goddesses sprung from the blood of the mutilated Ouranos, had already, in essence, become divinities of the conscience, in the remotest antiquity of the Hellenic people, long before so sophisticated a term as *συνείδησις* could have arisen. It is therefore, surprising that in Hiebel's exposition of the nature of conscience in the *Epistles* of St. Paul, the discussion should proceed upon the assumption that this quality had previously existed merely as a potentiality, and as though it were St. Paul who had brought it to actuality as a newly revealed moral phenomenon: "Das Gewissen, wie es sich keimhaft in der späteren Antike ankündigte, glich dem

geschlossenen Auge eines Embryo, das noch nicht das Licht erblickte. Das Gewissen, wie es durch Paulus erweckt wurde, erschien nun wie das dem Licht sich öffnende Auge des geborenen Kindes" (pp. 229-230). Granted that conscience as represented by the ancient Erinyes was a more primitive concept than that symbolized by their gentler sister-descendants, the Eumenides, it hardly does justice to the ages of moral evolution culminating in so noble a figure as Socrates, to describe Hellenic conscience as the unopened eye of an unborn child.

Limitations of space make it impossible to discuss at length Hiebel's treatment of the discovery of self in antiquity as the emergence of an "immer höher entwickelnden Ichheit" (pp. 50-51). But one point in this treatment is of more than ordinary interest. According to Hiebel, the trials of Odysseus up to the moment when he reveals himself to his son, are a series of purifications designed to release the hero's inner consciousness of self and to bring him to a vision of God. Upon the refusal of Telemachus to recognize the man before him as his father, the wanderer tells his son that no other Odysseus will ever come to Ithaca: ἀλλ' ὅδ' ἐγὼ τοιόσδε, παῖὼν κακὰ . . . (*Od.*, XVI, 205). Hiebel reproduces this passage freely as follows: "Wie du mich jetzt siehst, ist es das Ich in mir, das lange gelitten . . ." (p. 138; emphasis supplied). The Greek text will hardly support such a translation, especially that of the highly sophisticated italicized phrase, which seems quite foreign to the Homeric style. I do not believe it is possible to come nearer to Homer's meaning and to Odysseus' true accent than did Victor Bérard when he translated these words: "C'est moi qui suis ton père. . . ." It is quite inconceivable that Odysseus, at this supreme moment of recognition, talking to a son whom he had left a mere infant twenty years before, should greet him with so chilly an abstraction as "It is the I in me that has long suffered woes. . . ." But Hiebel was carried away by his zeal to demonstrate upon the text of Homer a process that in reality needs no demonstration, that "die Selbstfindung zur Gottesschau führen kann" (p. 140; cf. p. 122).

This zeal for demonstrating not alone on the Homeric text, but upon the body of Greek literature as a whole, the nascent, developing, and maturing concept of the self-realizing ego emerging into a state of awakened conscience fully prepared to accept the Gospel, is responsible, in spite of the excellence of the motive by which it is prompted, for many of the distortions in this otherwise attractive, and frequently penetrating, study of the transition from Hellenism to Christianity.

The removal of all significant moral dimension from the *Iliad* by the statement that "Der Zorn des Achilleus wütete in seiner Elementargewalt des Halbgottes noch gleichsam jenseits von Gut und Böse" (p. 130); the strained interpretation of the Platonic cosmogony (*Timaeus* 36) as a prefiguration of the Cross; above all, the attempt to discover a perfect parallel between the Aristotelian categories and the Gospel according to St. John (pp. 208 and 235-236), in order to show that the greatest achievement of Hellenic logic appeared "in neuer Synthese durch den Logos;" all these, and many other propositions equally remarkable, grow inescapably out of Hiebel's acceptance of the assertion of Novalis that all of history is Gospel.

In spite of the reservations expressed in the preceding paragraphs, this is a book composed with great and graceful erudition, possessing a genuine, and frequently poetic, comprehension of some of the most meaningful aspects of classical antiquity, and written in a style that rises at need to the highest demands of its subject.¹

University of Connecticut

ISIDORE SILVER

Oskar Seidlin, *Der Briefwechsel Arthur Schnitzler—Otto Brahm* (Berlin: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte, 1953).

THE first reaction on reading this book is likely to be a sigh for the days of artistic cosmopolitanism before 1914, when an author resident in Berlin or Vienna could without the least fuss travel to Italy, Paris, or the North Cape for his holiday, or when Stanislawsky would inquire of the author concerning the production rights in Moscow of a Schnitzler drama. What bliss to have been alive when Brahm in 1909 produced his Ibsen cycle, the thirteen social plays from *The League of Youth* to *When We Dead Awaken*, the crowning achievement of his life-work as theatre director!

The Schnitzler-Brahm letters, 215 in number, begin in May 1894 and extend to Brahm's death in 1912. Their tone is throughout that of gentlemen, even a bit formal with the continued use of *Sie* (though Brahm addressed Gerhart Hauptmann with *Du*); the *Sehr verehrter Herr Doktor* later changes to *Lieber Freund*, employed by both writers. There is a hearty tone of friendship and often of elegantly turned compliments, e. g. Brahm thanks Schnitzler for his story: "Die Toten

¹ The following typographical errors should be noted: p. 30—for *per somnium* read *per somnum* and for *Parte Naturalia* read *Parva Naturalia*; p. 116—for *peponde* read *pedonde*; p. 127—for *Partypate* read *parhypate*; p. 200—for *Baghavat* read *Bhagavad*; p. 206—for *Politeia 1262* read *Politeia 1263 b*.

schweigen, aber die Leser reden und preisen den meisterlichen Erzähler." Of course, the chief content of the letters concerns the artistic and business problems of author and theatre director.

Brahm repeatedly makes suggestions regarding alterations in the plays, some of which Schnitzler accepts gratefully, but on several occasions he definitely insists on the right of the author to have the text of his work respected. In a discussion of *Freiwild* Schnitzler presents at length his reasons for rejecting the changes suggested by Brahm and states that the latter must "mich nach meiner Façon selig werden oder durchfallen lassen." Brahm considered the director's position subordinated to the author's and accepts Schnitzler's firm stand as final, even though, as he remarks in one letter, his *Unterthanenverstand* cannot comprehend the reasons for it. He repeatedly urges Schnitzler to write ein *Lustspiel*, "wozu hätten Sie sonst diesen neckischen Humor?" and after reading *Leutnant Gustl*: "Warum schreibt dieser treffliche Autor nicht wieder einmal etwas so jocos Tiefsinniges fürs Theater?" Schnitzler replies jokingly that his *genre* might be designated as "Melanchol-ödie." Dr. Seidlin calls this more than a humorous remark, for the climate of Schnitzler's world is neither humor nor tragedy but a mood of sadness.

Both of the men were excellent judges of what constitutes good drama and their collaboration was crowned with outstanding success. It is interesting to note, though, that both could err. In November 1897 Schnitzler proposes that Brahm stage the scene *Weihnachtseinkäufe* from the *Anatol* Cycle, advancing as one reason that the famous actress Agnes Sorma was interested in playing the female role. Brahm replied that he enjoyed reading it but felt sure it would be a failure on the stage. In 1910 this scene proved the greatest success in a Berlin staging of *Anatol*. In May 1897 Schnitzler wrote concerning *Reigen* "Etwas Unaufführbareres hat es noch nie gegeben." But we know that these ten scenes have appeared on the stage and have also been turned into a very successful motion picture.

The most interesting part of the book is the 24-page introduction by Professor Seidlin. With scholarly clarity he sketches the career of Otto Brahm, the theatrical director who through his expert staging and devotion to artistic principles brought theatrical fame to Ibsen, Hauptmann, and Schnitzler. Dr. Seidlin breaks new ground in Schnitzler criticism with his designation of the characters of his dramas as "primitives" governed by a fear of death (as life's only certainty) and a melancholy sadness over the fleetingness of even life's

most passionate happiness. Like his Viennese contemporary, Freud, Schnitzler brings to light the hidden atavisms, man's lurking primitive impulses. In closing I shall quote one example of Dr. Seidlin's Schnitzler interpretation:

Diese tristitia creaturae ist kaum irgendwo je so schonungslos entblösst worden wie im *Reigen*, diesem erstickten Verzweiflungsschrei über das menschliche Versagen, den extremen Moment festzuhalten, in dem die Einsamkeit des Fleisches überwunden ist.

University of Maryland

A. E. ZUCKER

Hermann Hesse and Romain Rolland, *Briefe* (Zürich: Fretz & Wasmuth Verlag, 1954. 118 pp. DM. 19). OF the French writers whom Hesse has considered his kindred in spirit, none has meant more to him than Rolland. Their friendship which began in 1915 and was based on a common hatred of nationalism and of war, was to continue until Rolland's death in 1944. It is the mutual respect and admiration of two humanitarians, one militant and one meditative, that this collection of sixty-four letters reflects. Brief glimpses too are afforded into the private lives of both men, each writer's references to the other's works evidence deep understanding and warm appreciation, their courteous exchange of little favors is touching and the polite resolution of slight differences of opinion is exemplary. Published in a limited edition, beautifully bound and containing eight of Hesse's whimsical aquarelles, this volume will almost certainly become a collector's item. Hesse's thirty-one letters are also a welcome supplement to his *Briefe* of 1951.

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JOSEPH MILECK

Mario A. Pei and Frank Gaynor, *A Dictionary of Linguistics* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1954. 238 pp. \$4.75). A DICTIONARY of linguistics has long been a desideratum and has not grown less desirable after the advent of modern phonology, structuralism, and metalinguistics.

However, the authors' avowed purpose to take only the general run of traditional grammatical terms, the more frequently used terminology of historical linguistics, and that portion of the terminology of modern descriptive linguistics concerning which there is some

measure of agreement among its users would seem to make the book of more interest to the college student than to the real student of language.

Hence one looks in vain for the following list of terms, not all, by any means, uncommon, used or coined by one of the most imaginative of Modern American linguists:

adhesive (stops), artation, atset, atslope, base, beat, binal, confertion, consurgent, crown (of tongue), dale, dale shift, dentum, divides, high top, hold, infricate, inset, junctal (stop, strait), larynx, lobar, lobe, mount shift, node, offset, offslope, onset, onslope, open shift, palato-lobar, pause, peak, phasal, phase, plane shift, reduced bases, rest, retraction of lips, shift, slope, sonority wave, strait, surd, surgent, tergum, thyroid cartilage, top (crest of syllable), velum, vowel change, vowel shift.

While on the subject of phonetics one may note that the authors list duration and quantity of sounds, but no length and no quality of sound.

The authors also list names, affiliations, and very brief descriptions of the major languages and dialects of the world. Here one misses Lithuanian, though it is mentioned under Baltic, and no mention is made of its unique archaic structure and its place among the Indo-European languages. Likewise no listing is made of Icelandic, Old or modern, but Old Norse is called "the extinct ancestor of the North Germanic Languages" in spite of the fact that it is still spoken and written in Iceland. Under North Germanic one finds the misleading grouping of Icelandic, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Faroese, Gotlandic; should be: Icelandic, Faroese, Norwegian, Swedish, Gotlandic, Danish. Similarly under West Germanic the grouping is Anglo-Frisian, German, Dutch; should be Anglo-Frisian, Dutch, German.

This lack of precision makes the book not so desirable, even for the college student. One must conclude that a Dictionary of Linguistics is still a desideratum.

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STEFÁN EINARSSON

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